
SCIPIO AFRICANUS

THE CONQUEROR OF HANNIBAL

SELECTIONS FROM
LIVY: BOOKS XXVI-XXX



INTRODUCTION • TEXT • NOTES • VOCABULARY

BY

T.A. BUCKNEY

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AFRICANUS
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LIVY: BOOKS XXVI-XXX

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PREFACE

It is strange that most of our pupils read only the history of the first part of the Second Punic War; they know a great deal about Hannibal and Rome's defeats, but very little about Scipio Africanus and Rome's final victory.

The object of this book is to make available to pupils preparing for Ordinary level most of what Livy tells us about Scipio. The text has not been adapted, but difficulties of grammar and expression, which give so much trouble to those who are reading Livy for the first time, are explained fully in the notes, and considerable stress is laid on filling in the political and military background to the story.

I should like to acknowledge my debt to Professor H. H. Scullard's *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War*, and to his edition of *Livy Book XXX*, to Captain B. H. Liddell Hart's *A Greater than Napoleon*, to the Clarendon Press for permission to use the text of the *Oxford Classical Texts*, and to my former tutor Mr. A. G. Woodhead for his help with the illustrations.

In Chapter I (*b*), line 11, I have adopted the emendation *visas* for *visa*, the reading of the Oxford Text. The spelling in the text is that of the Oxford Text, but in the notes and vocabulary I have followed the more usual practice and distinguished between the vowel 'u' and the consonant 'v'.

T.A.B.

September 1964

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IV A RELIEF FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN, showing the way in which the Romans used their shields when storming a wall—the *testudo*. (See II.) Notice the insignia of their legion on the soldiers' shields.



V TOMBSTONE OF A CENTURION. He carries the vine cudgel, the mark of his rank, and wears embossed metal plates (*phalerae*) on his chest and rings (*torques*) on his shoulders, which are distinguished service medals, and on his head a crown of oak leaves, the highest award for individual valour.

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INTRODUCTION

I. ROME AND CARTHAGE

THE wars between Rome and Carthage were fought to decide who should rule the western Mediterranean, and no one contributed more to Rome's final victory than the hero of this book, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus. What were the resources of these two great powers?

Carthage was founded near the site of modern Tunis as a trading station by Tyre in about 814 B.C., and gradually gained control of the western Mediterranean, the coast of North Africa, western Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and southern Spain. Her interests were entirely centered upon trade, and she was not concerned either to win an empire or to administer well those territories which she had acquired. In adversity her subjects showed no loyalty towards her, in marked contrast to the fidelity of Rome's Italian allies. The citizens served in the fleet, but the army was composed chiefly of mercenaries; it is no small part of Hannibal's achievement that he was able to keep the loyalty of such an army for fifteen years in enemy territory.

Rome by the outbreak of the second Punic War (218 B.C.), with which this story deals, was the recognised leader of central and southern Italy. Each state of Italy was bound to Rome by its own treaty of alliance, but in general Rome controlled their foreign policies while leaving them in full charge of their internal affairs. The justice and moderation of Roman rule was proved by the loyalty of all but her most recent allies in the face of Hannibal's invasion. In northern Italy Rome's hold was less secure. In 225 B.C. she had defeated a Gallic invasion, and advanced her frontier to the Alps, so as to include the valley of the river Po, which was inhabited by

Gauls and was known as Gallia Cisalpina. This was the one area of Italy from which Hannibal was able to obtain any real support.

Rome and Carthage first came into conflict over the islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, and when Rome seized Corsica and Sardinia after the end of the first Punic War on a flimsy pretext, Hamilcar, Hannibal's father and a leading figure at Carthage, may well have felt that no peaceful settlement with Rome was possible, but that the spread of Roman power would have to be checked by force. Helped first by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and later by Hannibal, he established a firm Carthaginian base in southern Spain; here he obtained the riches of the silver and copper mines and abundant supplies of first-class infantrymen, whose fighting qualities were as formidable as their famous swords, which Scipio was quick to adopt (III). In 218 B.C. Hannibal's preparations were complete, and he invaded Italy. However, although he destroyed the army of one consul, Flaminius, at Lake Trasimene, almost annihilated the armies of two consuls, Aemilius Paullus and Varro, at Cannae, and gained the support of many cities of southern Italy, he could not deprive Rome of her reserves of man-power by winning over any of her Central Italian allies. While the war in Italy became an affair of marching and counter-marching, as the Romans refused Hannibal's invitations to battle and attacked his isolated garrisons, Rome used her superiority in man-power to mount an offensive in Spain, in order to strike at Hannibal's base and to prevent reinforcements reaching him. Scipio's father and uncle achieved some success there until they were defeated and killed; the story of Scipio's career begins with his election to fill their place. When he sailed to take up his command the fortunes of war were evenly

balanced. Hannibal was not strong enough to undertake a direct attack upon the city of Rome; on the other hand the Romans still dared not face him in the open field, and therefore could not drive him from Italy. Almost from the moment that Scipio set foot on the shores of Spain the scales tipped dramatically in favour of Rome.

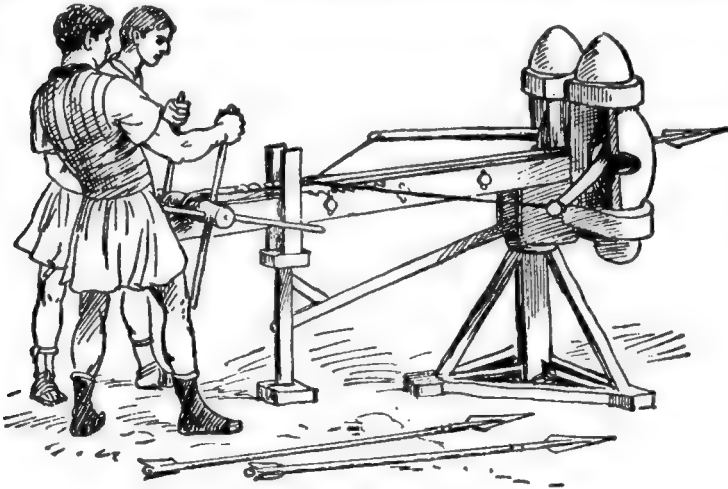
II. THE ROMAN ARMY

At Rome everybody who enjoyed the privileges of being a citizen was expected to take his part in defending his city. Originally the citizens provided their own equipment and were grouped according to their wealth; the richest made up the cavalry and the poorest the light-armed troops. By the time of the Punic Wars, as campaigns had become longer and took place further from Rome, pay had been introduced, and the army consisted of citizens who possessed a certain minimum of property; they were organised into legions under consuls and military tribunes.

A consular army (a force commanded by a consul) normally consisted of two legions of about 4,200 infantrymen, supported by 300 cavalry. The legion was organised in three divisions of *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*, of which the first two were 1,200 strong, and the last 600; there were also 1,200 light-armed troops (*velites*). The legion was divided into 30 maniples of two centuries each, and was commanded by the consul, six military tribunes and sixty centurions. Each maniple was commanded by the senior of its two centurions. The *hastati* and *principes* were equipped with two throwing-spears (*pilum*) and a sword (*gladius*, cf. III), and were protected by a helmet (*cassis*), an oval shield (*scutum*), and a corselet usually of leather (*lorica*), cf. Plate II. The *triarii* were similarly equipped, except that instead of the

pilum they retained the old Roman thrusting spear (*hasta*). The *velites* had only a small round shield (*parma*) and a light throwing-spear (*iaculum*). The dress of a centurion is shown in Plate V.

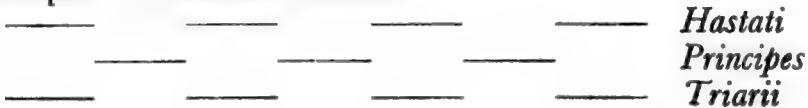
Roman artillery was of two kinds, the *catapulta* (or *scorpio*), which fired arrows more or less horizontally, and the *ballista*, which fired stones in a trajectory



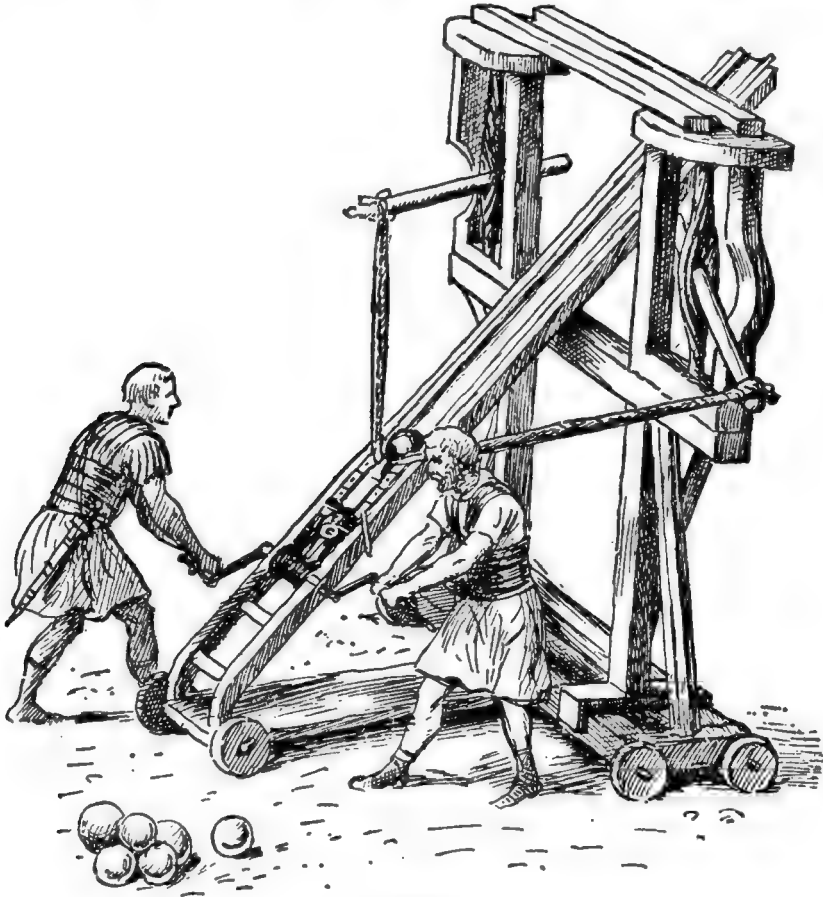
Catapulta

like a howitzer's. Both types gained their power from twisted strands of gut or horsehair which were tightened by a windlass, and then released, thus discharging the projectile. Artillery was chiefly used in defence of cities; it was too heavy to be useful in the field or on board ship. For covering fire in battle the Romans relied upon slingers and archers and their own *pila*.

In battle the legion was drawn up in three lines of *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, with intervals between the maniples of each line which were covered by the maniples of the one behind.



The attack began with skirmishing by the cavalry and *velites*; then the *hastati* advanced, threw their *pila*, and engaged the enemy with their swords.



Ballista

If they were unsuccessful, the *principes* advanced through the gaps between the maniples of *hastati* and took their place. The *triarii* were held in reserve, and in a crisis the *hastati* and *principes* could fall back on them and make a stand. These straightforward tactics suited the Romans' natural discipline and determination admirably, and could be quickly mastered by their largely amateur soldiers and

officers; they were, however, useless against a general and an army as skilful and enterprising as Hannibal and his professionals. One of the themes of this book is the way in which Scipio gradually learnt to apply the lessons which Hannibal was teaching the Romans, until at Zama master and pupil come face to face.

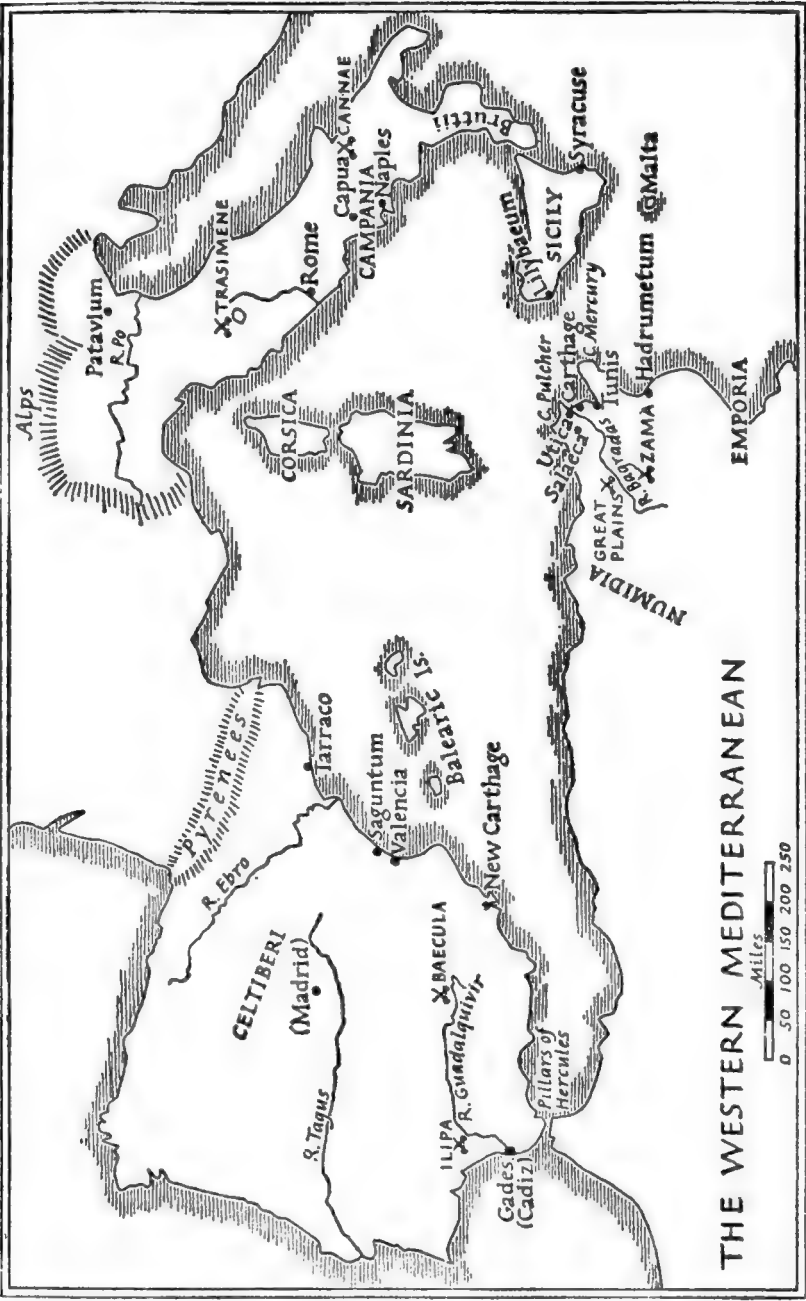
III. LIVY

Titus Livius (59 B.C.—17 A.D.) was born at Patavium (Padua) and became a member of the group of writers and poets which the emperor Augustus gathered together in Rome. He embarked on his great history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita*, at the age of 30, and had written 142 books when he died, taking the story as far as 9 B.C.; only thirty-five books survive. He wrote in annalistic form, describing events year by year as they occurred, instead of following one topic or campaign from start to finish, as modern historians do.

Livy gained some of his information about the events of the Punic Wars from official records and the works of earlier Roman historians such as the Coelius mentioned in VII (a), but his chief authority is a Greek writer, Polybius, who was sent to Rome as a hostage in 168 B.C., where he was befriended by Scipio Aemilianus, the adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus. Polybius wrote a History of Rome for the years 220–146 B.C., and thanks to his friendship with Scipio's family he was able to obtain first-hand accounts of many of the events of the Second Punic War, and his own political and military experience in Greece and on Scipio Aemilianus' staff make him a valuable source of explanation of some of Livy's more obscure passages. This is especially true of military details, for which Livy showed little interest, as we shall see in the course of this story.

Indeed Livy's purpose in writing his history was moral rather than factual. Like Vergil, his contemporary, he was inspired by a sense of the greatness and destiny of Rome. Throughout his boyhood and early manhood the Civil Wars had raged, and Rome appeared to be destroying herself, but as Augustus restored peace and brought back sound government and law and order, men began to feel that Rome was herself again. And just as in England, after the long nightmare of the Wars of the Roses, the stability of Tudor rule fostered a new sense of national pride, so that Shakespeare and his fellow playwrights looked back to the earlier days of English greatness under Henry V and felt that all was well again, so Vergil was inspired to recall the heroic father of the nation in his *Aeneid*, and Livy to compose his prose epic of the past glories of Rome. Livy is anxious to describe to his contemporaries the character and policies of the great men of Rome's past, and the subsequent decline of morality and discipline as the increase of wealth brought in luxury and greed. His purpose is to warn against evil and to encourage the good, so that Rome may continue with the work to which Augustus had recalled her.

In the notes to this book reference is occasionally made to Livy's inadequacies, so that it is as well that we should notice his special talents also. He excels at visualising scenes (e.g. in I, the dilemma of the Roman people when there were no volunteers to take command in Spain, or in XII, the atmosphere at Rome and Carthage as the final conflict approached) and at portraying people; his character-sketch of Scipio (I), and his descriptions of Hannibal's departure from Italy (XI) and of the meeting between Scipio and Hannibal (XIII) are masterpieces of vivid characterisation.



SCIPIO AFRICANUS

I SCIPIO'S FIRST COMMAND

(a)

After the defeat of the Roman armies in Spain, in which both the commanders, Cnaeus and Publius Scipio, were killed, elections are held at Rome to appoint a new general. At first there are no volunteers for such a dangerous post; then a dramatic intervention by the young Scipio gains him the command by a unanimous vote. Almost at once the people begin to have second thoughts about their choice. 210 B.C.

Inter haec Hispaniae populi nec qui post cladem acceptam defecerant redibant ad Romanos, nec ulli noui deficiebant; et Romae senatui populoque post receptam Capuam non Italiae iam maior quam Hispaniae cura erat. Et exercitum augeri et 5 imperatorem mitti placebat; nec tam quem mitterent satis constabat quam illud, ubi duo summi imperatores intra dies triginta cecidissent, qui in locum duorum succederet extraordinaria cura deligendum esse. Cum alii alium nominarent, postremum eo 10 decursum est ut proconsuli creando in Hispaniam comitia haberentur; diemque comitiis consules edixerunt. Primo exspectauerant ut qui se tanto imperio dignos crederent nomina profiterentur; quae ut destituta exspectatio est, redintegratus luctus 15 acceptae cladis desideriumque imperatorum amissorum.

Maesta itaque ciuitas prope inops consilii comi-
 tiorum die tamen in campum descendit; atque in
 20 magistratus uersi circumspectant ora principum
 aliorum alios intuentium fremuntque adeo perditas
 res desperatumque de re publica esse ut nemo audeat
 in Hispaniam imperium accipere, cum subito P.
 Cornelius, Publi filius eius qui in Hispania ceciderat,
 25 quattuor et uiginti ferme annos natus, professus se
 petere, in superiore unde conspici posset loco constitit.
 In quem postquam omnium ora conuersa sunt, clamore
 ac fauore ominati extemplo sunt felix faustumque
 imperium. Iussi deinde inire suffragium ad unum
 30 omnes non centuriae modo, sed etiam homines
 P. Scipioni imperium esse in Hispania iusserunt.
 Ceterum post rem actam ut iam resederat impetus
 animorum ardorque, silentium subito ortum et tacita
 cogitatio quidnam egissent; nonne fauor plus
 35 ualuisset quam ratio. Aetatis maxime paenitebat;
 quidam fortunam etiam domus horrebant nomenque
 ex funestis duabus familiis in eas prouincias ubi inter
 sepulcra patris patruique res gerendae essent pro-
 ficiscentis.

(b)

Scipio rekindles their enthusiasm; his character and influence, and the legend of his birth.

Quam ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem
 curamque hominum animaduertit, aduocata contione
 ita de aetate sua imperioque mandato et bello quod
 gerendum esset magno elatoque animo disseruit, ut
 5 ardorem eum qui resederat excitaret rursus nouaret-
 que et impleret homines certioris spei quam quantam
 fides promissi humani aut ratio ex fiducia rerum

subicere solet. Fuit enim Scipio non ueris tantum uirtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuuenta in ostentationem earum compositus, pleraque 10 apud multitudinem aut per nocturnas uisas species aut uelut diuinitus mente monita agens, siue et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, siue ut imperia consiliaque uelut sorte oraculi missa sine cunctatione exsequerentur. Ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeparans 15 animos, ex quo togam uirilem sumpsit nullo die prius ullam publicam priuatamque rem egit quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus in secreto ibi tempus tereret. Hic mos per omnem uitam seruatus seu consulto seu 20 temere uolgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis eum diuinae uirum esse, rettulitque famam in Alexandro magno prius uolgatam, et uanitate et fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, et in cubiculo matris eius uisam persaepe prodigii 25 eius speciem interuentuque hominum euolutam repente atque ex oculis elapsam. His miraculis nunquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec palam adfirmandi. Multa alia eiusdem generis, alia uera, 30 alia adsimulata, admirationis humanae in eo iuvene excesserant modum; quibus freta tunc ciuitas aetati haudquaquam maturae tantam rerum molem tantumque imperium permisit.

from XXVI, 18-19

II A DARING SWOOP

When Scipio reached Spain the Romans were confined to the north of the river Ebro. There were three Carthaginian armies in Spain, one under Hasdrubal the son of Gisco near

the mouth of the river Tagus, one under Mago near the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar), and the third under Hasdrubal Barca near Madrid. Scipio was afraid that, if he tried to attack one of these armies, the others would have time to combine against him, and so, realising that none of them was within ten days' march of their main base, New Carthage (Cartagena), he resolved upon a surprise attack. 209 B.C.

(a)

Scipio marches on New Carthage by land and sea; his speech to his troops emphasises the outstanding military, political, and economic importance of capturing the city.

Nemo omnium quo iretur sciebat praeter C. Laelium. Is classe circummissus ita moderari cursum nauium iussus erat ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum ostenderet et classis portum intraret.
 5 Septimo die ab Hiberno Carthaginem uentum est simul terra marique. Castra ab regione urbis qua in septentrionem uersa est posita; his ab tergo—nam frons natura tuta erat—uallum obiectum.

Cetera quae munienda erant cum perfecisset, naues
 10 etiam in portu uelut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem instruxit; circumuectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos nauium ut uigilias nocturnas intenti seruarent, omnia ubique primo obsessum hostem conari, regressus in castra ut consilii sui
 15 rationem quod ab urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset militibus ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret, contione aduocata ita disseruit:

‘Ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis uos
 20 adductos credit, is magis operis uestri quam emolu-

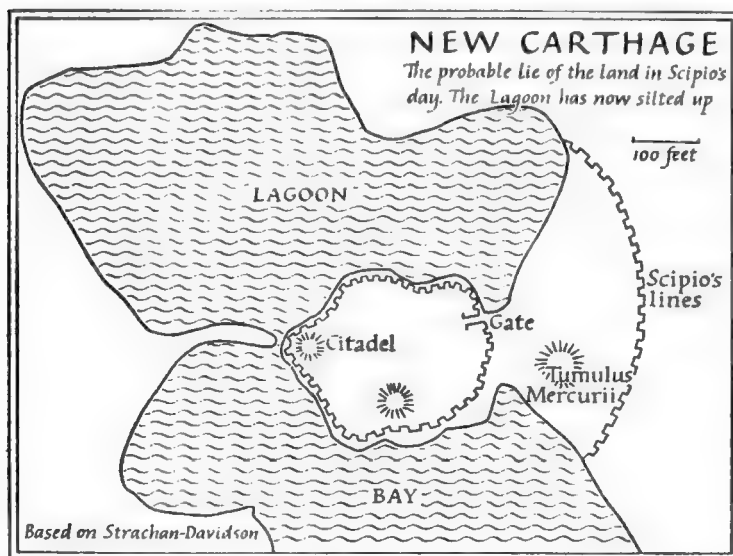
menti rationem exactam, milites, habet; oppugnabitur enim uere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe uniuersam ceperitis Hispaniam. Hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum populorumque, qui simul in potestate uestra erunt, extemplo omnia quae nunc 25 sub Carthaginiensibus sunt in dicionem tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi gerere bellum possunt, quippe qui mercenarios exercitus alant, et quae nobis maximo usui ad conciliandos animos barbarorum erit; hic tormenta arma omnis 30 apparatus belli est, qui simul et uos instruet et hostes nudabit. Potiemur praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque urbe tum opportunissima portu egregio unde terra marique quae belli usus poscunt suppeditentur; quae cum magna ipsi habebimus tum 35 dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. Haec illis arx, hoc horreum aerarium armamentarium, hoc omnium rerum receptaculum est; huc rectus ex Africa cursus est; haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gades statio; hinc omni Hispaniae imminet Africa.' 40

(b)

The Romans repel a sortie and attack the walls by land and sea. Cf. Plate IV.

Cum terra marique instrui oppugnationem uideret et ipse copias ita disponit. Oppidanorum duo milia ab ea parte qua castra Romana erant opponit: quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumulo urbis in orientem uerso imponit: multitudinem aliam 5 quo clamor, quo subita uocasset res intentam ad omnia occurrere iubet. Patefacta deinde porta eos quos in uia ferente ad castra hostium instruxerat

emittit. Romani duce ipso praecipiente parumper
 10 cessare, ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso sum-
 mittendis essent. Et primo haud impares stetere
 acies; subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris
 non auerterunt solum in fugam hostes, sed adeo effusis



institerunt ut nisi receptui cecinisset permixti fugienti-
 15 bus inrupturi fuisse in urbem uiderentur.

Trepidatio uero non in proelio maior quam tota
 urbe fuit; multae stationes pauore atque fuga desertae
 sunt relictique muri cum qua cuique erat proximum
 desiluissent. Quod ubi egressus Scipio in tumulum
 20 quem Mercuri uocant animaduertit multis partibus
 nudata defensoribus moenia esse, omnes e castris
 excitos ire ad oppugnandam urbem et ferre scalas
 iubet. Ipse trium prae se iuuenum ualidorum scutis
 oppositis—ingens enim iam uis omnis generis telorum
 25 e muris uolabat—ad urbem succedit; hortatur
 imperat quae in rem sunt, quodque plurimum ad

accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque uirtutis atque ignauiae cuiusque adest. Itaque in uolnera ac tela ruunt; neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere queunt quin certatim 30 adscendant. Et ab nauibus eodem tempore ea quae mari adluitur pars urbis oppugnari coepta est. Ceterum tumultus inde maior quam uis adhiberi poterat. Dum applicant, dum raptim exponunt scalas militesque dum qua cuique proximum est in 35 terram euadere properant, ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios impediunt.

(c)

The city's defences are too strong, and the Romans' first assault is beaten off. Scipio, however, renews the frontal attack to hold the enemy's attention, while he launches a surprise assault from the lagoon side.

Inter haec repleuerat iam Poenus armatis muros, et uis magna ex ingenti copia congesta telorum suppedi-
tabat; sed neque uiri nec tela nec quicquam aliud
aeque quam moenia ipsa sese defendebant. Rarae
enim scalae altitudini aequari poterant, et quo quae- 5
que altiores, eo infirmiores erant. Itaque cum
summus quisque euadere non posset, subirent tamen
alii, onere ipso frangebantur. Quidam stantibus
scalis cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, ad
terram delati sunt. Et cum passim homines scalae- 10
que ruerent et ipso successu audacia atque alacritas
hostium cresceret, signum receptui datum est; quod
spem non praesentis modo ab tanto certamine ac
labore quietis obsessis, sed etiam in posterum dedit
scalis et corona capi urbem non posse: opera et 15

difficilia esse et tempus datura ad ferendam opem
imperatoribus suis.

Vix prior tumultus conticuerat cum Scipio ab
defessis iam uolneratisque recentes integrosque alios
20 accipere scalas iubet et ui maiore adgredi urbem.
Ipse ut ei nuntiatum est aestum decedere, quod per
piscatores Tarraconenses, nunc leuibis cumbis, nunc
ubi eae siderent uadis peruagatos stagnum, comper-
tum habebat facilem pedibus ad murum transitum
25 dari, eo secum armatos quingentos duxit. Medium
ferme diei erat, et ad id, quod sua sponte cedente in
mare aestu trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septentrio
ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat
et adeo nudauerat uada ut alibi umbilico tenus aqua
30 esset, alibi genua uix superaret. Hoc cura ac ratione
compertum in prodigium ac deos uertens Scipio qui
ad transitum Romanis mare uerterent et stagna
auferrent uiasque ante nunquam initas humano
uestigio aperirent, Neptunum iubebat ducem itineris
35 sequi ac medio stagno euadere ad moenia.

(d)

*The assault-party enter the city unopposed, break down the
gates, and let in the main body; the Carthaginians surrender.*

Vbi urbem sine certamine intrauere, pergunt inde
quanto maximo cursu poterant ad eam portam circa
quam omne contractum certamen erat; in quod adeo
intenti omnium non animi solum fuere sed etiam
5 oculi auresque pugnantium spectantiumque et ad-
hortantium pugnantes ut nemo ante ab tergo senserit
captam urbem quam tela in auersos inciderunt et

utrimque ancipitem hostem habebant. Tunc turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepta; et mox caedendo 10 confectis ac distractis ne iter impediretur foribus armati impetum fecerunt. Magna multitudo et muros transcendebat; sed hi passim ad caedem oppidanorum uersi; illa quae portam ingressa erat iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus media urbe 15 usque in forum processit. Inde cum duobus itineribus fugientes uideret hostes, alios ad tumulum in orientem uersum qui tenebatur quingentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem in quam et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis qui muris pulsii fuerant refugerat, 20 partem copiarum ad tumulum expugnandum mittit, partem ipse ad arcem ducit. Et tumulus primo impetu est captus, et Mago arcem conatus defendere, cum omnia hostium plena uideret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et praesidium dedit. Quoad 25 dedita arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae nec ulli puberum qui obuius fuit parcebatur: tum signo dato caedibus finis factus, ad praedam uictores uersi, quae ingens omnis generis fuit.

(e)

The value of the city and the treatment of the inhabitants. Slavery was the usual fate of those who survived the capture of their city, but Scipio had the imagination (not a common Roman quality) to see that he could make better use of many of his prisoners if he treated them more leniently.

Liberorum capitum uirile secus ad decem milia capta; inde qui ciues Nouae Carthaginis erant dimisit urbemque et sua omnia quae reliqua eis

bellum fecerat restituit. Opifices ad duo milia
 5 hominum erant; eos publicos fore populi Romani
 edixit, cum spe propinqua libertatis si ad ministeria
 belli enixe operam nauassent. Ceteram multitudinem
 incolarum iuuenum ac ualidorum seruorum in clas-
 sem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et auxerat
 10 nauibus octo captiuis classem. Extra hanc multi-
 tudinem Hispanorum obsides erant, quorum perinde
 ac si sociorum liberi essent cura habita. Captus et
 apparatus ingens belli; catapultae maximae formae
 centum uiginti, minores ducentae octoginta una;
 15 ballistae maiores uiginti tres, minores quinquaginta
 duae; scorpionum maiorum minorumque et armorum
 telorumque ingens numerus; signa militaria septua-
 ginta quattuor. Et auri argenti relata ad impera-
 torem magna uis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae
 20 septuaginta sex, librales ferme omnes pondo; argenti
 infecti signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta
 pondo, uasorum argenteorum magnus numerus; haec
 omnia C. Flaminio quaestori appensa adnumerataque
 sunt; tritici quadringenta milia modium, hordei
 25 ducenta septuaginta. Naues onerariae sexaginta tres
 in portu expugnatae captaeque, quaedam cum suis
 oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea ferroque
 et linteis et sparto et nauali alia materia ad classem
 aedificandam, ut minimum omnium inter tantas opes
 30 belli captas Carthago ipsa fuerit.

from XXVI, 42 - 47

III THE NEW MODEL ARMY

Scipio trains his troops and mobilises the industrial capacity of New Carthage for war production.

Ipse paucos dies quibus morari Carthagine statuerat exercendis naualibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit. Primo die legiones in armis quattuor milium spatio decurrerunt; secundo die arma curare et tergere ante tentoria iussi; tertio die rudibus inter se in modum 5 iustae pugnae concurrerunt praepilatisque missilibus iaculati sunt; quarto die quies data; quinto iterum in armis decursum est. Hunc ordinem laboris quietisque quoad Carthagine morati sunt seruarunt. Remigium classicique milites tranquillo in altum 10 euecti, agilitatem nauium simulacris naualis pugnae experiebantur. Haec extra urbem terra marique corpora simul animosque ad bellum acuebant; urbs ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris omnium generum in publicam officinam inclusis. Dux cuncta pari 15 cura obibat: nunc in classe ac nauali erat, nunc cum legionibus decurrebat: nunc operibus adspiciendis tempus dabat, quaeque in officinis quaeque in armamentario ac naualibus fabrorum multitudo plurima in singulos dies certamine ingenti faciebat. 20

from XXVI, 51

The armourers were engaged in building up a reserve of weapons and in re-equipping the army with the Spanish sword, which was longer than the Roman stabbing sword and, being well-pointed and having two cutting edges, could be used for cut-and-thrust fighting as well as for stabbing. The reserve of weapons enabled Scipio in the following year to lay up his fleet and use the crews to increase the size of his army, which was numerically inferior to the Carthaginians.

The training given to the troops was of two kinds. First they were trained in the use of their weapons, and especially their new swords, which called for greater individual skill

than the old, and secondly in new tactics. Hannibal had shown that the fatal weakness of the Roman army was its inflexibility. At Cannae he had drawn the Romans forward by allowing his centre to retreat until his wings could outflank them; finally his cavalry took them in the rear and almost the whole Roman army was destroyed, for it was not trained to do anything but attack the enemy in front, and could find no answer to this unexpected situation.

In his battles in Spain and Africa we can see Scipio gaining increasing mastery of the art of handling the wings and centre, the cavalry and infantry, as independent units, each with its own special part in his plan, until finally at Zama he was ready to do what no Roman general had dared to do since Cannae, to face Hannibal in the open field.

The first test of the New Model Army came at Baecula.

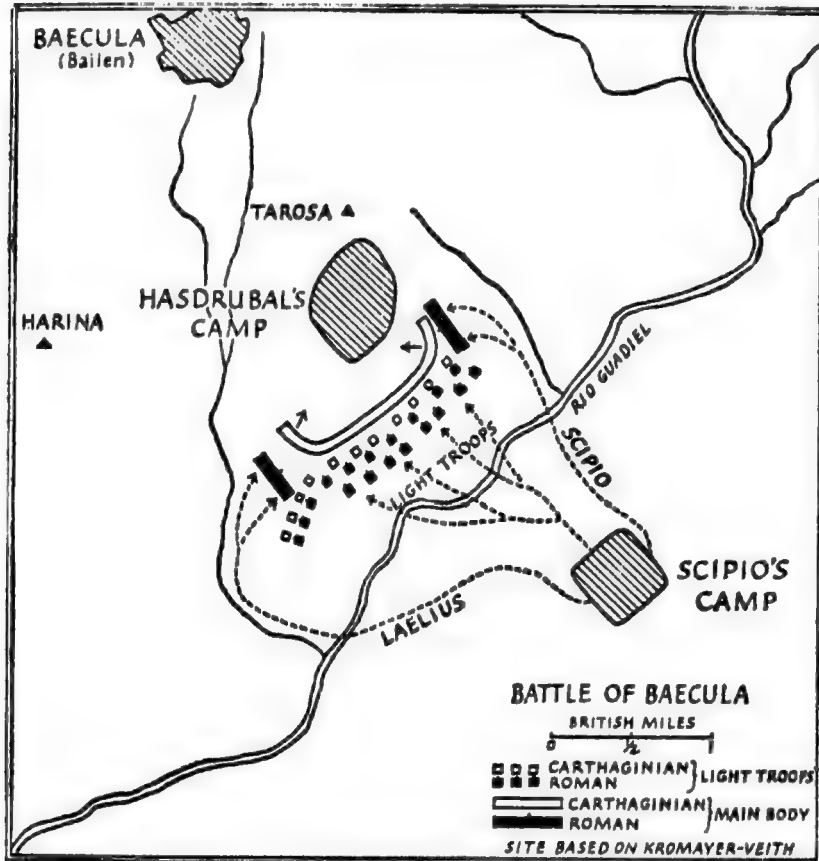
IV THE FIRST TEST

(a)

Hasdrubal's outposts are driven back by the Romans, and he retires to a strong defensive position. Scipio encourages his men by recalling their capture of New Carthage. 208 B.C.

Proximus Carthaginensium exercitus Hasdrubalis prope urbem Baeculam erat. Pro castris equitum stationes habebant. In eas uelites antesignanisque et qui primi agminis erant aduenientes ex itinere
 5 priusquam castris locum acciperent, adeo contemptim impetum fecerunt ut facile appareret quid utrique parti animorum esset. In castra trepida fuga compulsi equites sunt signaque Romana portis prope

ipsis inlata. Atque illo quidem die inritatis tantum
ad certamen animis castra Romani posuerunt: nocte 10
Hasdrubal in tumulum copias recipit plano campo
in summo patentem; fluuius ab tergo, ante circaque



uelut ripa praeceps oram eius omnem cingebat.
Suberat et altera inferior summissa fastigio planities;
eam quoque altera crepido haud facilius in adscensum 15
ambibat. In hunc inferiorem campum postero die
Hasdrubal postquam stantem pro castris hostium
aciem uidit, equites Numidas leuiumque armorum
Baliares et Afros demisit.

20 Scipio circumuectus ordines signaque ostendebat
 hostem praedamnata spe aequo dimicandi campo
 captantem tumulos, loci fiducia non uirtutis armorum-
 que stare in conspectu; sed altiora moenia habuisse
 Carthaginem, quae transcendisset miles Romanus;
 25 nec tumulos nec arcem, ne mare quidem armis
 obstitisse suis. Ad id fore altitudines quas cepissent
 hostibus ut per praecipitia et praerupta salientes
 fugerent; eam quoque se illis fugam clausurum. Co-
 hortesque duas alteram tenere fauces uallis per
 30 quam deferretur amnis iubet, alteram uiam insidere
 quae ab urbe per tumuli obliqua in agros ferret.

(b)

Scipio divides his army into three sections; his light-armed troops drive off the enemy's skirmishers and engage his centre, while the legions, instead of advancing in the conventional frontal attack, march out to left and right to outflank the Carthaginians. But Hasdrubal is able to hold the flank attacks long enough to withdraw his centre, and Scipio's victory is incomplete.

Ipsae expeditos qui pridie stationes hostium pepulerant ad leuem armaturam infimo stantem supercilio ducit. Per aspreta primum, nihil aliud quam uia impediti, iere; deinde ut sub ictum uenerunt, telorum
 5 primo omnis generis uis ingens effusa in eos est; ipsi contra saxa quae locus strata passim, omnia ferme missilia, praebet ingerere, non milites solum, sed etiam turba calorum immixta armatis.

Ceterum quamquam adscensus difficilis erat et
 10 prope obruebantur telis saxisque, adsuetudine tamen succedendi muros et pertinacia animi subierunt primi.

Qui simul cepere aliquid aequi loci ubi firmo consistenter gradu, leuem et concursatorem hostem atque interuallo tutum cum procul missilibus pugna eluditur, instabilem eundem ad comminus conserendas manus, 15 expulerunt loco et cum caede magna in aciem altiore superstantem tumulo impegere. Inde Scipio iussis aduersus mediam euadere aciem uictoribus ceteras copias cum Laelio diuidit, atque eum parte dextra tumuli circumire donec mollioris adscensus uiam 20 inueniret iubet: ipse ab laeua, circuitu haud magno, in transuersos hostes incurrit. Inde primo turbata acies est dum ad circumsonantem undique clamorem flectere cornua et obuertere ordines uolunt. Hoc tumultu et Laelius subiit; et dum pedem referunt 25 ne ab tergo uolnerarentur, laxata prima acies locusque ad euadendum et mediis datus est, qui per tam iniquum locum stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis nunquam euasissent. Cum ab omni parte caedes fieret Scipio, qui laeua 30 cornu in dextrum incucurrerat, maxime in nuda latera hostium pugnabat; et iam ne fugae quidem patebat locus; nam et stationes utrimque Romanae dextra laeuaque insederant uias, et porta castrorum ducis principumque fuga clausa erat, addita trepi- 35 datione elephantorum quos territos aeque atque hostes timebant. Caesa igitur ad octo milia hominum.

XXVII, 18

V THE END IN SPAIN

In the following year, 207 B.C., the Carthaginians made a great effort to destroy Scipio, who met them at Ilipa, near Seville, with 40,000 troops (of whom little more than 25,000 were Romans) against their 50,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry.

(a)

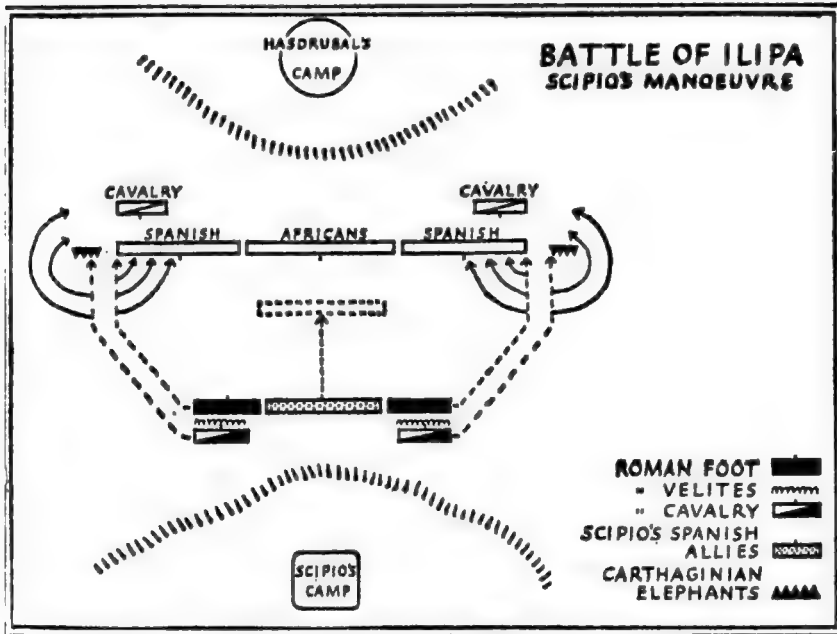
In order to counterbalance his inferiority in numbers, Scipio makes preparations to take Hasdrubal by surprise.

Vbi satis temptatae per haec leuia certamina uires sunt, prior Hasdrubal in aciem copias eduxit, deinde et Romani processere; sed utraque acies pro uallo stetit instructa, et cum ab neutris pugna coepta esset, 5 iam die ad occasum inclinante a Poeno prius, deinde ab Romano in castra copiae reductae. Hoc idem per dies aliquot factum. Prior semper Poenus copias castris educebat, prior fessis stando signum receptui dabat; ab neutra parte procursum telumue missum 10 aut uox ulla orta. Mediam aciem hinc Romani illinc Carthaginienses mixti Afris, cornua socii tenebant—erant autem utrisque Hispani—; pro cornibus ante Punicam aciem elephantum castellorum procul speciem praebebant. Iam hoc in utrisque castris sermonis 15 erat, ita ut instructi stetissent pugnatuuros; medias acies, Romanum Poenumque, quos inter belli causa esset, pari robore animorum armorumque concursuros. Scipio ubi hoc obstinate credi animaduertit, omnia de industria in eum diem quo pugnaturus erat 20 mutauit. Tesseram uesperis per castra dedit ut ante lucem uiri equique curati pransi essent, armatus eques frenatos instratosque teneret equos.

(b)

Scipio launches a surprise attack and changes his order of battle, so that his Spanish allies are in the centre and his legions face Hasdrubal's weaker troops on the flanks.

Vixdum satis certa luce equitatum omnem cum leui armatura in stationes Punicas immisit; inde confestim ipse cum graui agmine legionum procedit, praeter opinionem destinata suorum hostiumque Romano milite cornibus firmatis, sociis in mediam 5



aciem acceptis. Hasdrubal clamore equitum excitatus ut ex tabernaculo prosiluit tumultumque ante uallum et trepidationem suorum et procul signa legionum fulgentia plenosque hostium campos uidit, equitatum omnem extemplo in equites emittit; ipse 10 cum peditum agmine castris egreditur, nec ex ordine solito quicquam acie instruenda mutat. Equitum iam diu anceps pugna erat nec ipsa per se decerni poterat quia pulsus, quod prope in uicem fiebat, in aciem peditum tutus receptus erat; sed ubi iam haud 15 plus quingentos passus acies inter sese aberant, signo receptui dato Scipio patefactisque ordinibus equitatum

omnem leuemque armaturam in medium acceptam diuisamque in partes duas in subsidiis post cornua
 20 locat. Inde ubi incipiendae iam pugnae tempus erat, Hispanos—ea media acies fuit—presso gradu incedere iubet; ipse e dextro cornu—ibi namque praeerat—nuntium ad Silanum et Marcium mittit ut cornu extenderent in sinistram partem quemadmodum se
 25 tendentem ad dextram uidissent, et cum expeditis peditum equitumque prius pugnam consererent cum hoste quam coire inter se mediae acies possent. Ita diductis cornibus cum ternis peditum cohortibus ternisque equitum turmis, ad hoc uelitibus, citato
 30 gradu in hostem ducebant sequentibus in obliquum aliis; sinus in medio erat, qua segnius Hispanorum signa incedebant.

(c)

Hasdrubal's best troops stand idle while his flanks are overwhelmed.

Et iam conflixerant cornua cum quod roboris in acie hostium erat, Poeni ueterani Afrique, nondum ad teli coniectum uenissent, neque in cornua ut adiuuarent pugnantes discurrere auderent ne aperirent
 5 mediam aciem uenienti ex aduerso hosti. Cornua ancipiti proelio urgebantur; eques levisque armatura (ac) uelites circumductis alis in latera incurrebant: cohortes a fronte urgebant ut abrumperent cornua a cetera acie; et cum ab omni parte haudquaquam par
 10 pugna erat, tum quod turba Balarium tironumque Hispanorum Romano Latinoque militi obiecta erat. Et procedente iam die uires etiam deficere Hasdrubalis exercitum coeperant, oppressos matutino tumultu coactosque priusquam cibo corpora firmarent raptim

in aciem exire; et ad id sedulo diem extraxerat 15
 Scipio ut sera pugna esset; nam ab septima demum
 hora peditum signa cornibus incucurrerunt; ad
 medias acies aliquanto serius peruenit pugna, ita ut
 prius aestus a meridiano sole laborque standi sub
 armis et simul fames sitisque corpora adficerent quam 20
 manus cum hoste consererent. Itaque steterunt
 scutis innixi. Iam super cetera elephantum etiam
 tumultuoso genere pugnae equitum uelut et
 leuis armaturae consternati e cornibus in mediam
 aciem sese intulerant. Fessi igitur corporibus animis- 25
 que rettulere pedem, ordines tamen seruantes haud
 secus quam si imperio ducis cederet integra acies.

(d)

The Carthaginian retreat becomes a rout, and so many Spaniards desert that Hasdrubal is forced to abandon his camp.

Sed cum eo ipso acrius ubi inclinatum sentire rem
 uictores se undique inueherent, nec facile impetus
 sustineri posset quamquam retinebat obsistebatque
 cedentibus Hasdrubal ab tergo esse colles tutumque
 receptum si modice se reciperent clamitans, tamen 5
 uincente metu uerecundiam cum proximus quisque
 hostem cederet, terga extemplo data, atque in fugam
 sese omnes effuderunt. Ac primo consistere signa in
 radicibus collium ac reuocare in ordines militem
 coeperant cunctantibus in aduersum collem erigere 10
 aciem Romanis; deinde ut inferri impigre signa
 uiderunt, integrata fuga in castra pauidi compelluntur.
 Nec procul uallo Romanus aberat; cepissetque tanto impetu castra nisi ex uehementi sole,

15 qualis inter graues imbre nubes effulget, tanta uis
 aquae deiecta esset ut uix in castra sua receperint se
 uictores, quosdam etiam religio ceperit ulterius
 quicquam eo die conandi. Carthaginienses, quam-
 quam fessos labore ac uolneribus nox imberque ad
 20 necessariam quietem uocabat, tamen quia metus et
 periculum cessandi non dabat tempus prima luce
 oppugnaturis hostibus castra, saxis undique circa
 ex propinquis uallibus congestis augent uallum,
 munimento sese quando in armis parum praesidii
 25 foret defensuri; sed transitio sociorum fuga ut tutior
 mora uideretur fecit. Principium defectionis ab
 Attene regulo Turdetanorum factum est; is cum
 magna popularium manu transfugit; inde duo
 munita oppida cum praesidiis tradita a praefectis
 30 Romano; et ne latius inclinatis semel ad defectionem
 animis serperet res, silentio proximae noctis Hasdrubal
 castra mouet.

XXVIII, 14 - 15

*'Military history contains no more classic example of
 generalship than this battle of Ilipa. Rarely has so complete
 a victory been gained by a weaker over a stronger force, and
 this result was due to a perfect application of the principles of
 surprise and concentration.'* Capt. Liddell-Hart.

*Scipio's tactics were an improvement upon those he had
 used at Baecula. This time he was able to hold the Cartha-
 ginian centre with the threat of his Spanish allies, so that
 they could neither help the troops on their flanks nor make
 their own escape, as they had done in the previous battle.
 This crushing defeat, and the severity of Scipio's pursuit,
 forced Hasdrubal and Mago to abandon the remnants of their
 army; Hasdrubal withdrew to Carthage, while Mago made*

his way to Italy, and so the Carthaginians were driven from Spain and Scipio returned to Rome.

There he was elected consul for 205 B.C., but within the senate there was strong opposition to his policy of invading Africa. The conservative senators, led by Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator, wanted only to drive Hannibal from Italy and then to make peace and repair the terrible damage that Italy had suffered. Scipio saw that Hannibal's expulsion would not be enough to ensure Rome's security, but that Carthage herself must be humbled if the danger was not to return.

The senate as a whole opposed Scipio, but realised that if they denied him what he wanted, he would appeal to the people, amongst whom his popularity was so great that he would certainly get his way. Therefore they allowed him to have Sicily as his province, with the right to invade Africa 'if he thought that the interests of the state demanded it'. Everybody knew what the interests of the state would demand, but responsibility for failure would rest solely upon Scipio himself.

However, although it gave him the authority he sought, the senate refused Scipio the right to levy troops. Yet such was his personal influence that he sailed to Sicily with a force of 7,000 volunteers and 30 new warships. The story which follows may be unhistorical, but, like our own famous myth of Drake's game of bowls, it deserves to be repeated for the light it casts on the character of its hero.

VI WANTED—300 GOOD CAVALRYMEN, CHEAP

Scipio postquam in Siciliam uenit, uoluntarios milites ordinauit centuriauitque. Ex iis trecentos

iuuenes, florentes aetate et uirium robore insignes,
inermes circa se habebat, ignorantes quem ad usum
5 neque centuriati neque armati seruarentur. Tum ex
totius Siciliae iuniorum numero principes genere et
fortuna trecentos equites qui secum in Africam
traicerent legit, diemque iis qua equis armisque
instructi atque ornati adessent edixit. Grauis ea
10 militia, procul domo, terra marique multos labores
magna pericula allatura uidebatur; neque ipsos modo
sed parentes cognatosque eorum ea cura angebat.
Vbi dies quae dicta erat aduenit, arma equosque
ostenderunt. Tum Scipio renuntiari sibi dixit quos-
15 dam equites Siculorum tamquam grauem et duram
horrere eam militam: si qui ita animati essent, malle
eos sibi iam tum fateri quam postmodo querentes
segnes atque inutiles milites rei publicae esse; expromerent quid sentirent; cum bona uenia se auditurum.
20 Vbi ex iis unus ausus est dicere se prorsus, si sibi
utrum uellet liberum esset, nolle militare, tum
Scipio ei: 'Quoniam igitur, adulescens, quid sentirens
non dissimulasti, uicarium tibi expediam cui tu arma
equumque et cetera instrumenta militiae tradas et
25 tecum hinc extemplo domum ducas exerceas docendum cures equo armisque'. Laeto condicionem
accipienti unum ex trecentis quos inermes habebat
tradit. Vbi hoc modo exauctoratum equitem cum
gratia imperatoris ceteri uiderunt, se quisque excusare
30 et uicarium accipere. Ita trecentis Siculis Romani
equites substituti sine publica impensa. Docendorum
atque exercendorum curam Siculi habuerunt, quia
edictum imperatoris erat ipsum militaturum qui ita
non fecisset. Egregiam hanc alam equitum euasisse
35 ferunt multisque proeliis rem publicam adiuuisse.

from XXIX, 1

VII THE INVASION OF AFRICA

Scipio spent the year 205 B.C. in Sicily, organising and training his troops, and made no attempt against Carthage beyond sending Laelius to plunder and reconnoitre. But in the following year he launched his attack.

(a)

The invasion army musters at Lilybaeum. Livy's estimate of their numbers.

Quicquid militum nauiumque in Sicilia erat cum Lilybaeum conuenisset et nec urbs multitudinem hominum neque portus naues caperet, tantus omnibus ardor erat in Africam traiciendi ut non ad bellum duci uiderentur sed ad certa uictoriae praemia. 5 Praecipue qui superabant ex Cannensi exercitu milites illo non alio duce credebant nauata rei publicae opera finire se militiam ignominiosam posse. Et Scipio minime id genus militum aspernabatur, ut qui neque ad Cannas ignauia eorum cladem acceptam sciret 10 neque ullos aequae ueteres milites in exercitu Romano esse expertosque non uariis proeliis modo sed urbibus etiam oppugnandis. Quinta et sexta Cannenses erant legiones. Eas se traiecturum in Africam cum dixisset, singulos milites inspexit, relictisque quos non 15 idoneos credebat in locum eorum subiecit quos secum ex Italia adduxerat, suppleuitque ita eas legiones ut singulae sena milia et ducenos pedites, trecenos haberent equites. Sociorum item Latini nominis pedites equitesque de exercitu Cannensi legit. 20

Quantum militum in Africam transportatum sit non paruo numero inter auctores discrepat. Alibi decem milia peditum duo milia et ducentos equites, alibi sedecim milia peditum mille et sescentos equites,
 25 alibi parte plus dimidia rem auctam, quinque et triginta milia peditum equitumque in naues imposita (inuenio). Quidam non adiecere numerum, inter quos me ipse in re dubia poni malim. Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad immensum multitudinis
 30 speciem auget: uolucres ad terram delapsas clamore militum ait tantamque multitudinem conscendisse naues ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia aut in Sicilia relinqui uideretur.

(b)

D day minus 3; the troops embark. Scipio holds a final briefing in the forum. For a Roman warship, see Plate VI(b).

Milites ut naues ordine ac sine tumultu conscenderent ipse eam sibi curam sumpsit: nauticos C. Laelius, qui classis praefectus erat, in nauibus ante conscendere coactos continuit: commeatus imponendi M. Pomponio praetori cura data: quinque et quadraginta
 5 dierum cibaria, e quibus quindecim dierum cocta, imposita. Vt omnes iam in nauibus erant, scaphas circummisit ut ex omnibus nauibus gubernatoresque et magistri nauium et bini milites in forum conuenir-
 10 ent ad imperia accipienda. Postquam conuenerunt, primum ab iis quaesiuit si aquam hominibus iumentisque in totidem dies quot frumentum imposuissent. Vbi responderunt aquam dierum quinque et quadraginta in nauibus esse, tum edixit militibus ut
 15 silentium quieti nautis sine certamine ad ministeria

exsequenda bene oboedientes praestarent. cum uiginti rostratis se ac L. Scipionem ab dextro cornu, ab laeuo totidem rostratas et C. Laelium praefectum classis cum M. Porcio Catone—quaestor is tum erat—onerariis futurum praesidio. lumina in nauibus 20 singula rostratae, bina onerariae haberent: in praetoria naue insigne nocturnum trium luminum fore. Emporia ut peterent gubernatoribus edixit.—Fertilissimus ager eoque abundans omnium copia rerum est regio, et imbelles—quod plerumque in uberi agro 25 euenit—barbari sunt priusque quam ab Carthagine subueniretur opprimi uidebantur posse.—Iis editis imperiis redire ad naues iussi et postero die dis bene iuuantibus signo dato soluere naues.

(c)

D day. After delays caused by fog and calm the Romans land in Africa.

Vento secundo uehementi satis prouecti celeriter e conspectu terrae ablati sunt; et a meridie nebula occipit ita uix ut concursus nauium inter se uitarent; lenior uentus in alto factus. Noctem insequentem eadem caligo obtinuit: sole orto est discussa, et addita 5 uis uento. Iam terram cernebant. Haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturium se cernere; si iubeat eo dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio, ut in conspectu terra fuit, precatus 10 deos uti bono rei publicae suoque Africam uiderit, dare uela et alium infra nauibus accessum petere iubet. Vento eodem ferebantur; ceterum nebula sub idem ferme tempus quo pridie exorta conspectum

- 15 terrae ademit et uentus premente nebula cecidit.
 Nox deinde incertiora omnia fecit; itaque ancoras
 ne aut inter se concurrerent naues aut terrae infer-
 rentur iecere. Vbi inluxit, uentus idem coortus
 nebula disiecta aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio
 20 quod esset proximum promuntorium percontatus cum
 Pulchri promunturium id uocari audisset, 'Placet
 omen;' inquit 'huc dirigite naues'. Eo classis
 decurrit, copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt.

from XXIX, 24, 25, 27

VIII FIRST BLOOD

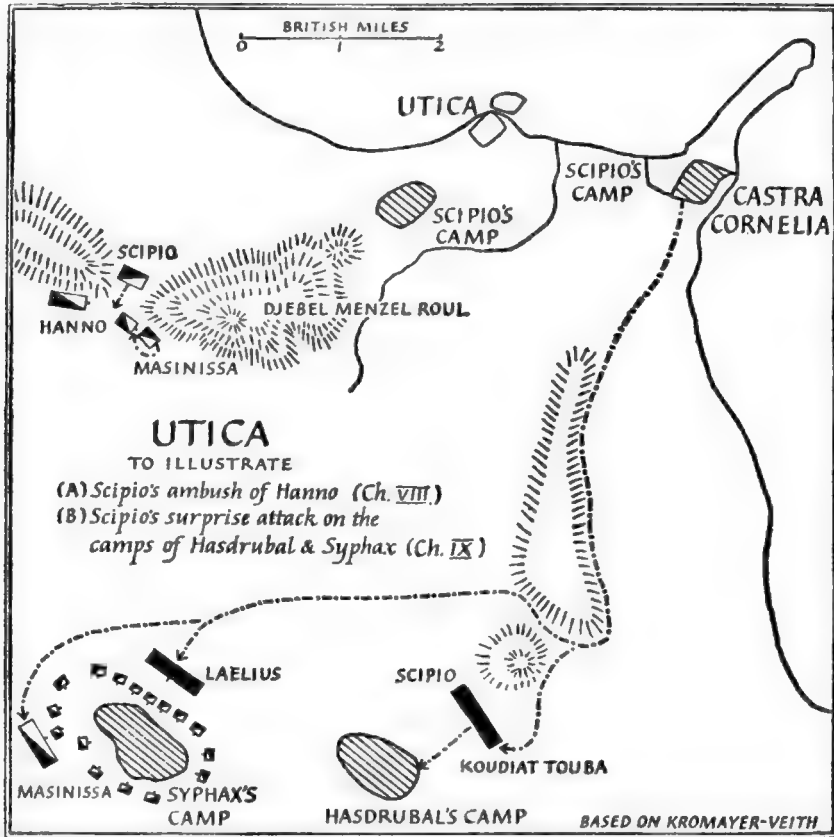
Scipio's first need was to secure a firm base, and so he laid siege to Utica, which had a harbour and would give him a foothold in the Bagradas valley, a fertile region which was Carthage's main source of supplies. Masinissa, a Numidian prince driven from his father's kingdom by Syphax, an ally of Carthage, joined Scipio with a useful force of cavalry.

(a)

Scipio begins the siege of Utica, and sends Masinissa to draw Hanno's Carthaginian cavalry into an ambush.

- Ad Vticam tum castra Scipio ferme mille passus ab
 urbe habebat translata a mari, ubi paucos dies statua
 coniuncta classi fuerant. Hanno nequaquam satis
 ualido non modo ad lacessendum hostem sed ne ad
 5 tuendos quidem a populationibus agros equitatu
 accepto id omnium primum egit ut per conquisitionem
 numerum equitum augeret; nec aliarum gentium
 aspernatus, maxime tamen Numidas—id longe

primum equitum in Africa est genus—conducit. Iam ad quattuor milia equitum habebat, cum Salaecam 10 nomine urbem occupavit quindecim ferme milia ab Romanis castris. Quod ubi Scipioni relatum est,



'Aestiua sub tectis equitatus!' inquit 'Sint uel plures, dum talem ducem habeant'. Eo minus sibi cessandum ratus quo illi segnus rem agerent, Masinissam 15 cum equitatu praemissum portis obequitare atque hostem ad pugnam elicere iubet: ubi omnis multitudo se effudisset grauiorque iam in certamine esset quam ut facile sustineri posset, cederet paulatim; se in tempore pugnae obuenturum. Tantum moratus 20

quantum satis temporis praegresso uisum ad eliciendos hostes, cum Romano equitatu secutus tegentibus tumultis, qui peropportune circa uiae flexus oppositi erant, occultus processit.

(b)

The Carthaginians are enticed to the scene of the ambush and routed.

Masinissa ex composito nunc terrentis, nunc timentis modo aut ipsis obequitabat portis aut cedendo, cum timoris simulatio audaciam hosti faceret, ad insequendum temere eliciebat. Nondum
5 omnes egressi erant uarieque dux fatigabatur, alios uino et somno graues arma capere et frenare equos cogendo, aliis ne sparsi et inconditi sine ordine sine signis omnibus portis excurrerent obsistendo. Primo incaute se inuehentes Masinissa excipiebat; mox
10 plures simul conferti porta effusi aequauerant certamen; postremo iam omnis equitatus proelio cum adesset, sustineri ultra nequiere; non tamen effusa fuga Masinissa sed cedendo sensim impetus eorum accipiebat donec ad tumultos tegentes Romanum
15 equitatum pertraxit. Inde exorti equites et ipsi integris uiribus et recentibus equis Hannoni Afrisque pugnando ac sequendo fessis se circumfudere; et Masinissa flexis subito equis in pugnam rediit. Mille fere qui primi agminis fuerant, quibus haud facilis
20 receptus fuit, cum ipso duce Hannone interclusi atque interfecti sunt: ceteros ducis praecipue territos caede effuse fugientes per triginta milia passuum uictores secuti ad duo praeterea milia equitum aut ceperunt aut occiderunt. Inter eos satis constabat non minus

ducentos Carthaginiensium equites fuisse, et diuitiis 25
quosdam et genere inlustres.

XXIX, 34

IX FIRE IN THE NIGHT

Utica, however, held out, and Scipio was forced to abandon the siege by the arrival of Hasdrubal and Syphax with superior forces. He retired for the winter to the rocky headland which thus gained the name of Castra Cornelia. At the end of his first summer in Africa he had achieved less than he must have hoped; he had succeeded in landing his army without mishap, but his failure to seize a harbour meant that supplies might have difficulty in reaching him. While he tried through diplomacy to detach Syphax from Carthage, he formed a plan for forestalling the attack which his enemies' superior numbers made inevitable. 203 B.C.

(a)

Scipio learns of the inflammable nature of the enemy's camps, and prolongs the negotiations in order to allow his men to study their layout. Then he launches a night attack.

Hibernacula Carthaginiensium, congesta temere ex agris materia exaedicata, lignea ferme tota erant. Numidae praecipue harundine textis storeaque pars maxima tectis, passim nullo ordine, quidam ut sine imperio occupatis locis extra fossam etiam uallumque 5 habitabant. Haec relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.

Cum legatis quos mitteret ad Syphacem calorum loco primos ordines spectatae uirtutis atque prudentiae

- 10 seruili habitu mittebat, qui dum in conloquio legati
essent uagi per castra alius alia aditus exitusque omnes,
situm formamque et uniuersorum castrorum et
partium, qua Poeni qua Numidae haberent, quantum
interualli inter Hasdrubalis ac regia castra esset,
15 specularentur moremque simul noscerent stationum
uigiliarumque, nocte an interdiu opportuniores
insidianti essent; et inter crebra conloquia alii atque
alii de industria quo pluribus omnia nota essent
mittebantur.
- 20 His praeparatis aduocatoque consilio et dicere
exploratoribus iussis quae comperta adferrent Masinis-
saeque, cui omnia hostium nota erant, postremo ipse
quid pararet in proximam noctem proponit; tribunis
edicit ut ubi praetorio dimisso signa concinuissent
25 extemplo educerent castris legiones. Ita ut impera-
uerat signa sub occasum solis efferri sunt coepta;
ad primam ferme uigiliam agmen explicauerunt;
media nocte—septem enim milia itineris erant—
modico gradu ad castra hostium peruentum est.
- 30 Ibi Scipio partem copiarum Laelio Masinissamque
ac Numidas attribuit et castra Syphacis inuadere
ignesque conicere iubet. Se Hasdrubalem Punicaque
castra adgressurum; ceterum non ante coepturum
quam ignem in regiis castris conspexisset.

35

(b)

*First Syphax's camp is fired, then Hasdrubal's, and the
enemy are slaughtered as they try to extinguish the flames.*

Neque ea res morata diu est; nam ut primis casis
iniectus ignis haesit, extemplo proxima quaeque

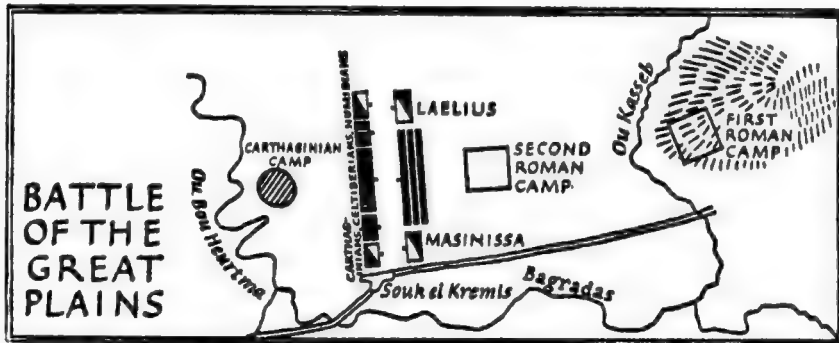
et deinceps continua amplexus totis se passim dissipauit castris. Et trepidatio quidem quantam necesse erat in nocturno effuso tam late incendio orta est; 5 ceterum fortuitum non hostilem ac bellicum ignem rati esse, sine armis ad restinguendum incendium effusi in armatos incidere hostes, maxime Numidas ab Masinissa notitia regionum castrorum ad exitus itinerum idoneis locis dispositos. Multos in ipsis 10 cubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma; multi praecipiti fuga ruentes super alios alii in angustiis portarum obtriti sunt. Relucentem flammam primo uigiles Carthaginensium, deinde excitati alii nocturno tumultu cum conspexissent, ab eodem errore credere 15 et ipsi sua sponte incendium ortum; et clamor inter caedem et uulnera sublatus an ex trepidatione nocturna esset confusis sensum ueri adimebat. Igitur pro se quisque inermes, ut quibus nihil hostile suspectum esset, omnibus portis, qua cuique proximum erat, 20 ea modo quae restinguendo igni forent portantes in agmen Romanum ruebant. Quibus caesis omnibus praeterquam hostili odio etiam ne quis nuntius refugeret, extemplo Scipio neglectas ut in tali tumultu portas inuadit; ignibusque in proxima tecta coniectis 25 effusa flamma primo uelut sparsa pluribus locis reluxit, dein per continua serpens uno repente omnia incendio hausit. Ambusti homines iumenta-que foeda primum fuga, dein strage obruebant itinera portarum. Quos non oppresserat ignis ferro absumpti, 30 binaque castra clade una deleta. Duces tamen ambo et ex tot milibus armatorum duo milia peditum et quingenti equites semermes, magna pars saucii adflatique incendio, effugerunt.

X SUCCESS IN THE GREAT PLAINS

Scipio was now free to resume the siege of Utica, but when he learnt that Hasdrubal and Syphax were gathering a new army at the Great Plains in the Bagradas valley, he decided to attack at once before Hasdrubal could train his new troops. Hasdrubal accepted Scipio's challenge, trusting in his superior numbers (20,000 against 15,000); had he refused battle and used his numerical superiority to cut Scipio off from his base, the Romans would have been in an awkward position.

Scipionem, uelut iam debellato quod ad Syphacem Carthaginiensesque attineret, Vticae oppugnandae intentum iamque machinas admouentem muris
 5 auertit fama redintegrati belli; modicisque praesidiis ad speciem modo obsidionis terra marique relictis ipse cum robore exercitus ire ad hostes pergit. Primo in tumulto quattuor milia ferme distante ab castris regiis consedit; postero die cum equitatu in Magnos—ita
 10 uocant—campos subiectos ei tumulto degressus, succedendo ad stationes hostium lacessendoque leuibus proeliis diem absumpsit. Et per insequens biduum tumultuosis hinc atque illinc excursionibus in uicem nihil dictu satis dignum fecerunt: quarto die
 15 in aciem utrimque descensum est. Romanus principes post hastatorum prima signa, in subsidiis triarios constituit: equitatum Italicum ab dextro cornu, ab laeuo Numidas Masinissamque opposuit. Syphax Hasdrubalque Numidis aduersus Italicum equitatum,
 20 Carthaginiensibus contra Masinissam locatis Celtiberos in mediam aciem aduersus signa legionum acceperunt. Ita instructi concurrunt. Primo impetu

simul utraque cornua, et Numidae et Carthaginienses, pulsi; nam neque Numidae, maxima pars agrestes, Romanum equitatum neque Carthaginienses, et ipse 25 nouus miles, Masinissam recenti super cetera uictoria terribilem sustinuere. Nudata utrimque cornibus Celtiberum acies stabat quod nec in fuga salus ulla



ostendebatur locis ignotis neque spes ueniae ab Scipione erat, quem bene meritum de se et gente sua 30 mercennariis armis in Africam oppugnatum uenissent. Igitur circumfusus undique hostibus alii super alios cadentes obstinate moriebantur; omnibusque in eos uersis aliquantum ad fugam temporis Syphax et Hasdrubal praeceperunt. Fatigatos caede diutius 35 quam pugna uictores nox oppressit.

XXX, 8

Syphax retired westwards to his own kingdom, where he was overtaken and captured by Laelius and Masinissa. Hasdrubal withdrew to Carthage, where preparations were in hand to resist a siege, and it was decided to recall Hannibal and his army from Italy.

XI HANNIBAL TO THE RESCUE

Hannibal receives the news of his recall with great bitterness and a sense of personal failure.

Freudens gemensque ac uix lacrimis temperans dicitur legatorum uerba audisse. Postquam edita sunt mandata, 'Iam non perplexe' inquit 'sed palam reuocant qui uetando supplementum et pecuniam
5 mitti iam pridem retrahebant. Vicit ergo Hannibalem non populus Romanus totiens caesus fugatusque sed senatus Carthaginensis obtrectatione atque inuidia; neque hac deformitate reditus mei tam P. Scipio exsultabit atque efferet sese quam Hanno qui domum
10 nostram quando alia re non potuit ruina Carthaginis oppressit.'

Iam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparauerat ante naues. Itaque inutili militum turba praesidii specie in oppida Bruttii agri quae pauca metu magis
15 quam fide continebantur dismissa, quod roboris in exercitu erat in Africam transuexit, multis Italici generis, quia in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Lacinae delubrum inuiolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis. Raro
20 quemquam alium patriam exsilii causa relinquentem tam maestum abisse ferunt quam Hannibalem hostium terra excedentem; respexisse saepe Italiae litora, et deos hominesque accusantem in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum quod non cruentum
25 ab Cannensi uictoria militem Romam duxisset; Scipionem ire ad Carthaginem ausum qui consul hostem Poenum in Italia non uidisset: se, centum milibus armatorum ad Trasumenum ad Cannas

caesis, circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolum consenuisse. Haec accusans querensque ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus.

XXX, 20

XII ANXIETY AT HOME

As both cities await the final conflict, the tension is no greater in Carthage than in Rome.

Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies crescebat nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat utrum gaudio dignius esset Hannibalem post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem uacuum possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano, an magis metuendum quod incolumi exercitu in Africam transisset: locum nimirum non periculum mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis uatem qui nuper decessisset Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum grauiorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem quam in aliena fuisset. nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilix ducere exercitus solitus sit, aut cum socero eius Hasdrubale fugacissimo duce rem futuram, aut (cum) tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semerum turba subito conlectis, sed cum Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma, puero quondam milite, uixdum iuvene imperatore, qui senex uincendo factus Hispanias Gallias Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complexset. ducere exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia quas uix fides fiat homines passos, perfusum miliens cruore Romano, exuias non

militum tantum sed etiam imperatorum portantem.
 25 multos occursuros Scipioni in acie qui praetores, qui
 imperatores, qui consules Romanos sua manu
 occidissent, muralibus uallaribusque insignes coronis,
 peruagatos capta castra captas urbes Romanas.
 non esse hodie tot fasces magistratibus populi Romani
 30 quot captos ex caede imperatorum prae se ferre
 posset Hannibal.

Haud dispar habitus animorum Carthaginiensibus
 erat quos modo petisse pacem, intuentes Hannibalem
 ac rerum gestarum eius magnitudinem, paenitebat,
 35 modo cum respicerent bis sese acie uictos, Syphacem
 captum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia, atque ea
 omnia unius uirtute et consilio Scipionis facta, uelut
 fatalem eum ducem in exitium suum natum horrebant.

from XXX, 28

XIII FACE TO FACE

Hannibal landed at Hadrumetum with 24,000 veterans, and was soon reinforced by 12,000 troops from the Carthaginian army which had been recalled from N. Italy; he was, however, weak in cavalry. Scipio, on the other hand, had lost a large part of a convoy of supplies and reinforcements in a storm, and Masinissa had taken his cavalry and some of the Roman infantry on an attempt to regain his old kingdom of Numidia. Thus the odds were in Hannibal's favour.

Scipio marched up the Bagradas valley with the object of cutting off Carthage from its source of supply and in order to make it easier for Masinissa to rejoin him. Hannibal needed time to rest his troops after their voyage, and did not reach Scipio until Masinissa had already returned. Faced,

therefore, by an army superior in cavalry, he made one last effort to secure peace and asked for a meeting with Scipio.

This personal encounter between the two most brilliant generals of their day is one of the most dramatic scenes of history.

(a)

Hannibal compares Scipio's present position with his own ten years ago, and reminds him of the instability of fortune.

Summotis pari spatio armatis, cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces sed omnis ante se memoriae omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumue pares. Paulisper alter alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope 5 attoniti, conticuere; tum Hannibal prior.

'Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam reuertentem unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam aduersae res ita erudierunt ut rationem sequi quam fortunam malim: tuam et adulescentiam et 10 perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. Non temere incerta casuum reputat quem fortuna nunquam decepit. Quod ego fui ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es. Vixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia 15 audacissime incipientem nusquam fefellit fortuna. Patris et patruī persecutus mortem ex calamitate uestrae domus decus insigne uirtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias reciperasti quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus pulsus; consul creatus, 20 cum ceteris ad tutandam Italiam parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris,

Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni
 25 eius, tot nostri imperii ereptis, me sextum decimum
 iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti.
 Potest uictoriam malle quam pacem animus. Noui
 spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis
 aliquando fortuna adfulsit.

30 'Vt omnium obliuiscaris aliorum, satis ego docu-
 menti in omnes casus sum quem modo castris inter
 Anienem atque urbem uestram positis signa inferen-
 tem ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana uideris,
 hic cernas duobus fratribus, fortissimis uiris, claris-
 35 simis imperatoribus orbatum ante moenia prope
 obsessae patriae quibus terrui uestram urbem ea pro
 mea deprecantem.'

(b)

Hannibal went on to suggest terms of peace. These Scipio rejects, and remains unmoved by Hannibal's impressive warnings about the fickleness of fortune. Hannibal's persuasive and eloquent rhetoric makes an effective contrast with Scipio's severely practical and unadorned reply.

'Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis
 memini et uim fortunae reputo et omnia quaecum-
 que agimus subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum
 quemadmodum superbe et uiolenter me faterer facere
 5 si priusquam in Africam traiecissem te tua uoluntate
 cedentem Italia et imposito in naues exercitu ipsum
 uenientem ad pacem petendam aspernarer, sic nunc
 cum prope manu conserta resitantem ac tergiuer-
 santem in Africam attraxerim nulla sum tibi uere-
 10 cundia obstrictus. Proinde si quid ad ea in quae tum
 pax conuentura uidebatur, quasi multa nauium cum

commeatu per indutias expugnatarum legatorumque uiolatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium : sin illa quoque grauia uidentur, bellum parate quoniam pacem pati non potuistis.'

15

from XXX, 30, 31

XIV ZAMA

Few battles are more dramatic than Zama. For both sides everything was at stake, and each put into the field its finest troops under its ablest commander. Both Hannibal and Scipio had won their previous victories over inferior generals; who would emerge victorious from this conflict of the masters?

By comparing Polybius' account with Livy's we can see that the tactics on each side appear to be as follows. Scipio hoped that, when his superior cavalry had exposed the enemy's flanks, he could use his principes and triarii to outflank the Carthaginians, as he had done at Baecula, Ilipa and the Great Plains. Hannibal knew that he was weak in cavalry, and would not be able to employ them in his favourite manoeuvre of taking the enemy in the rear, as he had done at Cannae. Therefore he probably ordered his cavalry to pretend to flee, to draw the Roman horse away from the battle. Then his numerically superior infantry, supported by elephants, would attack the Romans in successive waves, while his third line of veterans, drawn up some distance behind the other two lines, would make it dangerous for Scipio to outflank him; if he tried, as Hannibal must have expected him to do, he would find that he was outflanking only the first two lines, while the third was intact and free to counter-attack. 202 B.C.

(a)

Both armies march out for the final struggle which will decide who shall rule the world.

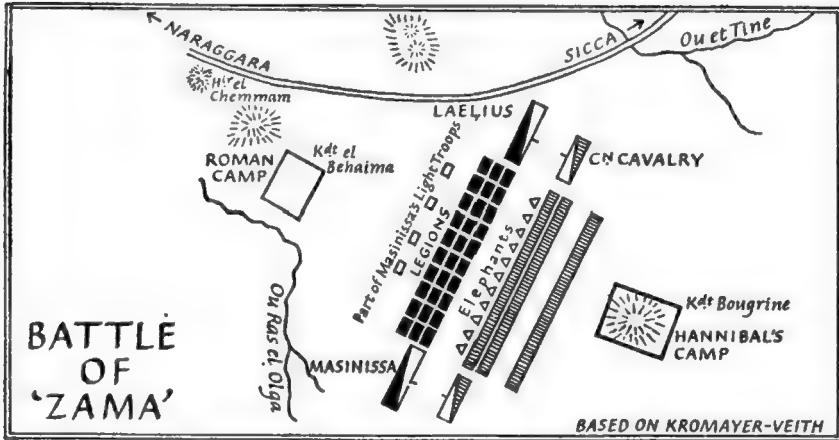
Ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, frustra uerba temptata renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam di dedissent. In castra ut est uentum, pronuntiant
5 ambo arma expedirent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in perpetuum, si felicitas adesset, uictores. Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret ante crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam sed orbem terrarum uictoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio quibus
10 aduersa pugnae fortuna fuisset. Nam neque Romanis effugium ullum patebat in aliena ignotaque terra, et Carthagini, supremo auxilio effuso, adesse uidebatur praesens excidium.

15 Ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut euersuri. Anceps igitur spes et metus miscebant animos; contemplanti-
20 busque modo suam, modo hostium aciem, cum oculis magis quam ratione pensarent uires, simul laeta, simul tristia obuersabantur: quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant, ea duces admonendo atque hortando subiciebant. Poenus sedecim annorum in
25 terra Italia res gestas, tot duces Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et sua cuique decora ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem uenerat referebat: Scipio Hispanias et recentia in Africa proelia et confessionem hostium quod neque non

petere pacem propter metum neque manere in ea 30
 prae insita animis perfidia potuissent. Adesse finem
 belli ac laboris; in manibus esse praedam Cartha-
 ginis, reditum domum in patriam ad parentes liberos
 coniuges penatesque deos. Celsus haec corpore
 uoltuque ita laeto ut uicisse iam crederes dicebat. 35

(b)

In drawing up their armies both generals make small but significant changes from their normal practice.



Instruit deinde primos hastatos, post eos principes;
 triariis postremam aciem clausit. Non confertas
 autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat
 sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes ut esset
 spatium qua elephanti hostium acti nihil ordines 5
 turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno
 quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto opera
 utebatur, cum Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu,
 Masinissam Numidasque ab dextro opposuit. Vias
 patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum uelitibus— 10

ea tunc levis armatura erat—compleuit, dato praecepto ut ad impetum elephantorum aut post directos refugerent ordines aut in dextram laeuamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis uiam qua intruerent in
 15 ancipitia tela beluis darent.

Hannibal ad terrorem primos elephantos—octoginta autem erant, quot nulla unquam in acie ante habuerat—instruxit, deinde auxilia Ligurum Gallorumque, Baliaribus Maurisque admixtis: in secunda acie
 20 Carthaginienses Afrosque et Macedonum legionem: modico deinde interuallo relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum—Bruttii plerique erant, ui ac necessitate plures quam sua uoluntate decedentem ex Italia secuti—instruxit. Equitatum et ipse cir-
 25 cumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginienses, sinistrum Numidae tenuerunt.

(c)

Scipio's foresight turns the charge of Hannibal's elephants to his own advantage, his cavalry drives the Carthaginian horse from the field, and his infantry throws Hannibal's first two ranks into confusion.

Tum tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime cornu, uerterentur, Mauros ac Numidas. Addidit facile Masinissa percussis terrorem nudauit-
 5 que ab ea parte aciem equestri auxilio. Paucae tamen bestiarum intrepidae in hostem actae inter uelitum ordines cum multis suis uulneribus ingentem stragem edebant. Resilientes enim ad manipulos uelites cum uiam elephantis ne obtererentur fecissent, in ancipites

ad ictum utrimque coniciebant hastas, nec pila ab 10
 antesignanis cessabant donec undique incidentibus
 telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in suo dextro
 cornu ipsos Carthaginiensium equites in fugam
 uerterunt. Laelius, ut turbatos uidit hostes, addidit
 percussis terrorem.

15

Vtrisque nudata equite erat Punica acies cum
 pedes concurrat, nec spe nec uiribus iam par. Pugna
 Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incum-
 bentium in hostem, concursatio et uelocitas illinc
 maior quam uis. Igitur primo impetu extemplo 20
 mouere loco hostium aciem Romani. Ala deinde et
 umbonibus pulsantes in summos gradu inlato
 aliquantum spatii uelut nullo resistente incessere,
 urgentibus et nouissimis primos ut semel motam
 aciem sentire, quod ipsum uim magnam ad pellendum 25
 hostem addebat. Apud hostes auxiliares cedentes
 secunda acies, Afri et Carthaginienses, adeo non
 sustinebant ut contra etiam, ne resistentes pertinaciter
 primos caedendo ad se perueniret hostis, pedem
 referrent. Igitur auxiliares terga dant repente et 30
 in suos uersi partim refugere in secundam aciem,
 partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo ante non
 adiuti et tunc exclusi; et prope duo iam permixta
 proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul cum
 hostibus simul cum suis cogerentur manus conserere. 35

(d)

*Now it is Scipio's turn to be checked, and prevented from
 employing his outflanking tactics. However, he calmly
 reforms his army, and engages Hannibal until his cavalry
 returns and takes the Carthaginians in the rear.*

Ceterum tanta strages hominum armorumque locum in quo steterant paulo ante auxiliares compleuerat ut prope difficilior transitus esset quam per confertos hostes fuerat. Itaque qui primi erant, 5 hastati, per cumulos corporum armorumque et tabem sanguinis qua quisque poterat sequentes hostem et signa et ordines confuderunt. Principum quoque signa fluctuari coeperant uagam ante se cernendo aciem. Quod Scipio ubi uidit receptui propere 10 canere hastatis iussit et sauciis in postremam aciem subductis principes triariosque in cornua inducit quo tutior firmiorque media hastatorum acies esset. Ita nouum de integro proelium ortum est; quippe ad ueros hostes peruentum erat, et armorum genere et 15 usu militiae et fama rerum gestarum et magnitudine uel spei uel periculi pares; sed et numero superior Romanus erat et animo quod iam equites, iam elephantos fuderat, iam prima acie pulsa in secundam pugnabat. In tempore Laelius ac Masinissa pulsos 20 per aliquantum spatii secuti equites, reuertentes in auersam hostium aciem incurrere. Is demum equitum impetus perculit hostem. Multi circumuenti in acie caesi, (multi) per patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia equitatu passim interierunt. 25 Carthaginiensium sociorumque caesa eo die supra uiginti milia: par ferme numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta duobus, elephantis undecim: uictores ad mille et quingenti cecidere.

(e)

Hannibal escapes to Carthage and urges the government to make peace.

Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumentum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio priusquam excederet pugna expertus, et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus singulari arte aciem 5 eo die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis uis signa sequi et seruare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem ne homines mixti ex conluuione 10 omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, uulneribus suis ferrum hostile hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset, milites Cartha- 15 ginienses Afrosque ut omnibus rebus aliis pares eo quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent superiores essent; Italicos incertos socii an hostes essent in postremam aciem summos, interuallo quoque diremptos. Hoc edito uelut ultimo uirtutis opere, 20 Hannibal cum Hadrumentum refugisset accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricensimo post anno quam puer inde profectus erat redisset, fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed bello uictum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda esse. 25

from XXX, 31 - 35

XV IO TRIUMPHE!

Scipio returns to Rome and celebrates a magnificent triumph, 201 B.C. Cf. Plate VIII.

Pace terra marique parta, exercitu in naues imposito in Siciliam Lilybaeum traiecit. Inde magna

parte militum nauibus missa ipse per laetam pace non minus quam uictoria Italiam effusis non urbibus
 5 modo ad habendos honores sed agrestium etiam turba obsidente uias Romam peruenit triumphoque omnium clarissimo urbem est inuectus. Argenti tulit in aerarium pondo centum uiginti tria milia. Militibus ex praeda quadringenos aeris diuisit. Morte sub-
 10 tractus spectaculo magis hominum quam triumphantis gloriae Syphax est, Tiburi haud ita multo ante mortuus, quo ab Alba traductus fuerat. Conspecta tamen mors eius fuit quia publico funere est elatus.—Hunc regem in triumpho ductum Polybius, haud-
 15 quaquam spernendus auctor, tradit.—Secutus Scipionem triumphantem est pilleo capiti imposito Q. Terentius Culleo, omnique deinde uita, ut dignum erat, libertatis auctorem coluit. Africani cognomen militaris prius fauor an popularis aura celebrauerit
 20 an, sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompeii patrum memoria, coeptum ab adsentatione familiari sit parum compertum habeo; primus certe hic imperator nomine uictae ab se gentis est nobilitatus.

XXX, 45

EPILOGUE

After the triumph of Zama, Scipio, aged only 34, occupied a position of unique power and influence. A little over 100 years later the personal ambitions of other successful generals such as Sulla, Pompey and Caesar almost destroyed Rome, but Scipio was content to follow the old Roman tradition exemplified by Cincinnatus, and to resume the status of a private citizen when the state had no further need of his services. He was censor in 199, consul for the second time in

194, and was on his brother Lucius' staff during his campaign against King Antiochus of Pergamum (190-189). But his later years were marked by continual attacks, led by Cato, upon himself and his associates. When Scipio himself was accused of accepting a bribe from Antiochus, he made no defence but reminded the court that the day was the anniversary of Zama, and invited them to accompany him to the Capitol to return thanks to the gods for the victory. Everybody followed Scipio, and his accusers were left standing in an empty forum. Nevertheless he withdrew to Liternum, near Naples, where he died in 184, so embittered that he ordered his body to be buried there and not in Rome.

It was a sad end to a career which had begun so early and so gloriously, but the very qualities which gave Scipio his youthful success were responsible for his later eclipse. He was a most un-Roman Roman in his infectious enthusiasm, his complete confidence in himself (which his opponents called arrogance), his mysticism, and his interest in and support for Greek culture. In all these ways he offended the old conservatives, and especially Cato, to whom he seemed lacking in the supreme Roman virtues of gravitas and respect for the *mos maiorum*. So he stands apart from the general run of Roman leaders, like a brilliant comet which men gaze at during its brief career in awe and admiration until it passes from sight and is almost forgotten.

NOTES

I (a)

1. **post cladem acceptam**: 'after the occurrence of the disaster.' This use of the past participle where in English we would use an abstract noun is very common, e.g. *ab urbe condita*, 'from the foundation of Rome' and *post receptam Capuam* in line 4. The disaster referred to is the defeat of the Scipios.

4. **Capuam**: the richest city of Campania and Hannibal's base; it was recaptured by the Romans in 211 B.C., so that Hannibal was now confined to southern Italy and Rome was free to take the offensive in Spain.

Italiae, Hispaniae. Objective genitives with **cura**, 'anxiety for Italy'.

6. **placebat**: sc. *senatui*. 'The senate decided.' *Placet* is the usual word for reporting a decree of the senate.

nec tam . . . satis constabat quam illud: 'There was general agreement not so much about . . . as on this point, that . . .': *illud* refers to the whole of the following sentence *ubi . . . deligendum esse*, and *qui . . . succederet* is the subject of *deligendum esse*.

10. **eo decursum est ut**: 'they were reduced to'.

11. **proconsuli creando**. Dative of purpose, 'to elect a proconsul'. The Roman constitution provided for four magistrates with the power to command armies (*imperium*), two consuls and two praetors. As the Roman empire spread outside Italy, first to Sicily and then to Sardinia and Corsica, they found that they needed more magistrates with *imperium* to govern these provinces and defend them. So the practice began of prolonging the *imperium* of a consul or praetor for a further year, so that he could hold a command abroad; these magistrates were called proconsuls and propraeors. The senate usually made these appointments without elections, but in such a crisis and with no volunteers elections were the only solution.

15. **redintegratus**: sc. *est*. Livy often omits the parts of *sum* with the perfect indicative passive and the perfect infinitive passive.

19. **campum**: The Campus Martius, level ground beside the Tiber outside the walls of Rome, where elections, meetings and parades were held.

19–21. **descendit, circumspectant, fremunt**: Historic presents. The present indicative is often used to describe important or dramatic scenes, such as this meeting of the anxious people looking to their leaders, and the leaders looking at one another, and nobody making a move.

21. **perditas**: sc. *esse*. Perfect infinitive passive.

28. **felix faustumque**: sc. *futurum esse*. An echo of the old Roman formula of prayer which preceded all official decisions, '*Quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque sit*'.

30. **centuriae**: For voting at elections the Roman people had been organised, traditionally by the king Servius Tullius, into centuries. Each century returned one vote, decided by the majority of the votes of its members. Not only did all the centuries vote for Scipio, but each individual voter also supported him.

31. **Scipioni**: Possessive dative; 'that Scipio should have the command'.

37. **funestis**: 'in mourning'. This would make Scipio's appointment doubly ill-omened, and the Romans were very conscious of the significance of omens.

39. **proficiscentis**: with **nomen**: 'they were disturbed by the name of a man who was setting out'.

I (b)

7. **ratio ex fiducia rerum**: 'calculation based upon confidence in their situation'. Infectious confidence in his own abilities was one of Scipio's most marked characteristics.

9. **virtutibus**: Ablative of cause with **mirabilis**: 'because

of his real qualities'. Begin a new English sentence after **compositus**, and translate **agens** as its main verb.

10. **pleraque apud multitudinem . . . agens**. 'And he had great influence with the common people.'

13. **animi**: Descriptive genitive with *ipse*; 'he himself was of a mind', 'he himself had a mind'. *Sc. erat* as main verb. Scipio himself does not seem to have shared Livy's scepticism, but genuinely to have believed that he was inspired; this belief was the foundation of his burning self-confidence which won him the devotion of his army.

14. **sorte oraculi**: 'by the utterance of an oracle'.

16. **ex quo**: 'from the time when'.

togam virilem: At the age of 14 a Roman boy changed his *toga praetexta*, which had a purple border, for the plain white toga of manhood.

18. **Capitolium**: i.e. the temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus which crowned one of the two summits of the Capitol; on the other was the *arx*. Scipio's practice of private prayer would have attracted less notice later, in the Christian era, than it did at Rome, where religion was concerned to preserve the *pax deorum*, good relations between gods and men, by performing the correct rituals, rather than with personal communion with the gods.

iret, consideret, tereret: These subjunctives indicate that Scipio did this repeatedly.

22. **stirpis**: Descriptive genitive with *virum*. 'A man of divine descent.'

23. **et vanitate et fabula parem**: 'equal to it in its emptiness and frequency' i.e. 'equally foolish and well-known'. Scipio invited comparison with Alexander because of his youth, his attractive personality, his military skill, and his sense of inspiration.

24. **conceptum**: This (and **visam, evolutam** and **elapsam**) is infinitive of indirect statement after **famam**. Scipio is the subject of *conceptum*.

29. **abnuendi, adfirmandi**: With **arte**: 'skill in neither denying nor confirming'.

32. **excesserant modum**: 'had gone beyond the limits'.

aetati haudquaquam maturae: 'one who had by no means reached a suitable age'.

II (a)

2. **C. Laelium**: Laelius was Scipio's Chief-of-Staff throughout his Spanish and African campaigns. Speed and surprise were essential for success.

5. **septimo die**: By forced marches and by concealing his intentions from the enemy Scipio had reached New Carthage three days or more before the nearest Carthaginian army could come to its help.

Livy here reveals his limitations as a military historian; he makes Scipio's army march at the impossible rate of 43 miles per day. Caesar, even though he was in a hurry to catch Pompey and promised his men large rewards, needed 16 days, at least one of which was a rest day, to cover the 289 miles from Corfinium to Brundisium, an average day's march of about 19 miles. Scipio's average could have been higher, since he kept it up for a shorter time, but the distance from the Ebro to New Carthage is about 300 miles, which he could not have covered in the time. Perhaps Livy is giving Scipio's time for his final dash for New Carthage from an advanced base such as Valencia. The distance between the two towns is about 160 miles, and as there is a good route from Valencia to Madrid, where Hasdrubal's army was, the Carthaginians may well have thought that Scipio was marching against Hasdrubal until it was too late.

14. **conari**: Indirect statement, what Scipio said to his captains. **Hostem** is the subject.

15. **quod . . . orsus esset**: 'Inasmuch as he had begun'.

19. Scipio's speech. Livy does not claim to quote the actual words used by the men whose speeches he reports. The speeches are his own composition, but the ideas are

those that might reasonably have been in the minds of the speakers. Here he explains Scipio's strategy; notice Scipio's understanding of the economic and political aspects of war, as well as of purely military matters.

21. **rationem exactam habet**: 'has made an accurate calculation'.

24. **simul**: For *simul atque*, 'as soon as'.

33. **portu egregio**: 'an outstanding harbour'. Ablative of cause, explaining **opportunissima**.

II (b)

2. **ipse**: Mago, the Carthaginian commander.

10. **subsidiis . . . summittendis**. Dative of purpose, explaining **propiores**. Scipio expected a sortie and was prepared to deal with it.

14. **receptui cecinisset**: Sc. *signum* as object. 'Unless he had given the signal to retreat'.

18. **qua cuique erat proximum**: 'by what way was nearest to each man'. i.e. 'each man taking the nearest path'.

20. **Mercuri**: Possessive genitive, explaining *tumulum*.

25. 'In modern war no feature has told more heavily against decisive results than the absence of the commander's personal observation and control.' Capt. Liddell Hart.

26. **quodque . . . intererat**: *Quod* is the relative pronoun, and refers to the clause which follows, **testis . . . adest**, which should be translated first.

II (c)

5. **quo . . . altiores, eo infirmiores**: 'by what they were higher, by that they were weaker'. i.e. 'the higher each was, the weaker it became'.

14. **obsessis**. Dative, indirect object of **dedit**.

15. **opera:** 'siege works'. Time was on the side of the defenders.

16. **datura:** sc. *esse*.

22. **piscatores Tarraconenses:** 'fishermen of Tarraco'. Tarraco (Tarragona) was Scipio's base north of the Ebro. His success was due in no small degree to good intelligence and careful planning during the previous winter.

23. **compertum habebat:** A common method of forming a pluperfect: 'he had found out'.

25. **medium ferme diei:** Polybius (cf. Introduction III) says it was late in the day, and an off-shore (i.e. north) wind might be expected to spring up in the evening. 'There are no tides in Cartagena harbour but with winds from south to south-west the level rises from one to one-and-a-half feet, and north to north-east winds have a contrary effect.' *The Mediterranean Pilot*.

26. **ad id quod:** 'in addition to the fact that'.

31. **in prodigium ac deos:** 'referring it to a sign from the gods.'

32-34. **qui . . . verterent, auferrent, aperirent.** Causal subjunctives. 'Inasmuch as they were turning . . .'

II (d)

6. **ante . . . quam:** 'before.' *Antequam, priusquam, postquam* are often divided in this way.

15. **iusta acies:** 'regular formation'. Scipio kept control of his army and so was able to exploit his success and complete the capture of the city before the enemy could rally.

26. **caedes:** This was the regular fate of many of the inhabitants of a captured town, and is no harder to justify than the bombing of cities. Notice again Scipio's control over his troops, so that the slaughter was stopped as soon as possible, and nobody scattered in search of booty while there was still fighting to be done.

II (e)

1. **virile secus:** Accusative of respect, explaining **capitum** 'of the male sex'.

4. **opifices:** 'craftsmen'. Important because of their skill in making weapons; now Scipio was no longer dependent on supplies from Rome.

7. **navassent:** For *navavissent*; this contraction of the perfect stem is common with first conjugation verbs, e.g. *amasse* for *amavisse*.

ceteram multitudinem: Only those who had nothing else to offer were condemned to the fleet.

13. **catapultae:** Cf. Introduction II.

20. **pondo:** Ablative of description: 'by weight'.

21. **decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo:** Pounds weight.

23. **quaestori:** Dative of the agent, instead of the more usual ablative. The quaestor was the most junior of the Roman magistrates, and his duties were chiefly financial. When attached to an army in the field he was responsible for paying the troops and selling the booty; the proceeds were shared among the soldiers.

28. **sparto:** Esparto grass, grown in Spain and used for making ropes.

29. **minimum:** Refers to Carthago, so that we might have expected *minima*, but it is not an adjective but a neuter noun, 'the least thing'.

III

2. **exercendis copiis:** Ablative of manner: 'in training his troops'.

3. **in armis:** 'in full armour'.

4. **tergere:** 'clean'. All disciplined armies have believed in spit and polish.

5. **rudibus**: 'wooden weapons'. These were regularly used by soldiers and gladiators for practice, and a gladiator was given one if he was honourably discharged.

6. **praepilatis**: 'with a button on the point', like the foils used by fencers to-day. For Roman tactics cf. Introduction II.

10. **remigium**: 'The rowers'. Collective noun.

classicique milites: 'marines'. Roman naval tactics favoured grappling and boarding enemy vessels, and so each ship carried a complement of marines.

IV (a)

7. **animorum**: Partitive genitive with **quid**: 'what was the spirit'. Livy prefers this form of expression to the more straightforward *qui animi*. So in IV (b) line 12 *aliquid loci* instead of *aliquem locum*.

8. **portis**: Dative of motion, common in verse and frequently used by Livy, though not by Cicero or Caesar.

11. **plano campo**: Ablative of manner, with **patentem**: 'in a level plateau'.

14. **summissa fastigio**: 'below the summit'.

22. **fiducia**: Ablative of cause, 'Because of their confidence in their position. . .'. **loci** and **virtutis armorumque** are objective genitives with *fiducia*.

26. **ad id**: 'In addition to this'.

fore altitudines: 'the heights would be for the enemy so that . . .', i.e. 'the enemy would find that by occupying the heights they would be escaping . . .'.

31. **per tumuli obliqua**: 'past the slopes of the hill'.

IV (b)

1. **expeditos**: 'light-armed troops'. Scipio did not employ the legions in this frontal attack.

7. **ingerere**: Historic infinitive; translate as a past indicative.

12. **loci**: cf. *animorum*, IV (a) line 7.

13. **levem . . . loco**: 'they drove the enemy from their position—light-armed skirmishers who kept at a safe distance and avoided battle by throwing missiles at long range, but did not stand their ground to fight it out at close quarters'.

18. **ceteras copias**: the legions. Polybius says that Scipio took the right flank.

27. **mediis**: the light-armed troops in the centre of the Roman line.

29. **evasissent**: Conditional. 'They would never have climbed up.'

31. **nuda latera**: the side not protected by their shields.

V (a)

1. **levia certamina**. The Carthaginian cavalry had tried to disorganise the Romans while they were pitching camp.

2. **Hasdrubal**: son of Gisco, and not Hasdrubal Barca, whom Scipio had defeated at Baecula.

11. **socii**. Both sides employed Spaniards, but they were not reliable, and Scipio's father and uncle had been defeated because their Spanish allies suddenly deserted. Like Wellington 2,000 years later Scipio used his allies largely to impress the enemy, while leaving the real fighting to his own troops. The positions of the Roman legions and their Spanish allies played a vital part in this battle.

17. **concursores**: Grammatically the subject is **acies**, but the masculine is used because *acies* is explained by the masculines **Romanum Poenumque**. These are used as collective nouns in the singular, as we speak of the English, or the French.

20. **tesseram**: Originally the tablet on which a password or order was written, and so the order itself.

22. **eques**: 'the cavalry'. Collective noun.

V (b)

13. **iam diu**: Scipio appears to have prolonged the indecisive cavalry engagement so that the Carthaginians should feel the effects of having had no breakfast.

14. **pulsis**: Dative of advantage with **receptus**. What is *receptus*?

17. **patefactis ordinibus**: It is a mark of the training and confidence of Scipio's army that they could open and close their ranks in the face of the enemy.

21. **presso gradu**: 'at a slow pace'. The inferior Spanish troops were to tie down the flower of the Carthaginian army without ever coming into contact with them!

30. **sequentibus in obliquum aliis**. The Roman infantry moved out to the flanks in column, then wheeled inwards into line against the Spaniards on the Carthaginian wings, while the cavalry and velites took them on the flank and in the rear. (See plan.)

V (c)

1. **roboris**: Partitive genitive with **quod**. The clause **quod . . . erat**, explained by **Poeni veterani Afrique**, is the subject of **convenissent**. The verb is in the plural because of the plurals *Poeni Afrique*.

13. **oppressos . . . coactosque**: Strictly these participles should be singular, agreeing with **exercitum**; they describe the men in Hasdrubal's army.

16. **septima hora**: The Roman day began at sunrise and ended at sunset, and was divided into 12 hours. The main battle, therefore, did not begin until about 2 p.m.

V (d)

1. **eo ipso**: 'for that very reason'.

8. **signa**: The Roman soldier was trained to follow the movements of his standard, and therefore Latin writers

often describe the actions of the army by referring to the standards, as Livy does here. Hence phrases like *signa conferre* (to attack), *signa vertere* (to wheel), etc.

17. **religio . . . quicquam conandi**: a religious fear of attempting anything'.

24. **praesidii**: Partitive genitive with **parum**: 'too little protection'.

25. **fuga**: This is the subject of **videretur**, so that you would expect to find it inside the *ut*-clause. Why has Livy taken it out of its clause?

VI

2. **centuriavit**: 'organised in centuries'. Livy is using the military language of his own day; in Scipio's time the chief subdivision of the legion was the manipule, consisting of two centuries.

19. **cum bona venia**: 'without prejudice'.

29. **excusare, accipere**. Historic infinitives; translate as main verbs.

34. Their weakness in cavalry was always a problem to the Romans, who relied largely upon their allies to supply this arm, and it was never more serious than against Hannibal, who was able to use his superiority to rout the Roman cavalry and take their infantry in the rear. Scipio knew that if he was to face Hannibal he must be able to rely on his mounted troops.

VII (a)

6. **ex Cannensi exercitu**: In order to suppress any thoughts of making peace with Hannibal after his overwhelming victory at Cannae, the senate not only refused to negotiate the ransom of the Romans who were taken prisoner in the battle, but sentenced the survivors to military service in exile in Sicily. These two legions of disgraced soldiers, whose loss would cause no great regret, were the only forces that the senate provided for the invasion of Africa.

12. **urbibus oppugnandis.** Especially the siege of Syracuse, where the Romans were held at bay for two years by the genius of Archimedes, whose engineering skill was pressed into service and produced formidable artillery.

19. **Latini nominis:** The Latins lived on the plain S. of Rome, and from early times enjoyed a more privileged relationship with Rome than the other allies. As Rome conquered Italy, she settled at strategic points groups of Romans and Latins in self-governing Latin colonies enjoying the same privileges.

21. **quantum militum.** Partitive genitive. The numbers Livy gives for the Cannine legions suggest that the second of these three estimates is the most likely. Even the largest force would have been small for the great task ahead.

28. **ut . . . ita:** 'although . . . however'.

VII (b)

6. **cocta:** These were provisions for the voyage, as it would be dangerous to light fires for cooking on board ship. Scipio was very careful to see to it that his first moves in Africa would not be dictated by the need to find food and water.

12. **frumentum:** Cereals formed the staple diet of the ancient world (as they do of underdeveloped countries to-day); meat was eaten only on special occasions, such as after a sacrifice. The Roman legions marched and fought on porridge.

15. Inter-service rivalry is clearly no new thing, and in Scipio's force it would have been sharpened by the fact that the soldiers, who were mostly Roman citizens or Latins, would tend to look down on the sailors, who were drawn from the allied states.

17. **rostratis:** 'equipped with rams', i.e. warships. The technique of Roman naval warfare was either to disable the enemy ship by ramming or to grapple and board.

23. **Emporia:** This cannot have been Scipio's objective;

he made no effort to reach it, and if he had gone there, the Carthaginian fleet would have cut him off from his base in Sicily. H. H. Scullard suggests that Scipio deliberately named Emporia as his destination in order to deceive the enemy.

24. **eoque**: 'and for that reason'.

VII (c)

3. **vix**: modifies **vitarent**.

11. **bono**: Dative of advantage: 'for the good of the state'.

VIII (a)

3. **coniuncta classi**: The fortifications of the camp also protected the ships, which were drawn up on the shore within them.

13. **aestiva**. Accusative of exclamation: 'Cavalry quartered in houses in the summer!'

14. **eo minus . . . quo segnus**: Invert the order of the two clauses and translate 'the more sluggishly . . . the less . . .'.

19. **cederet**: Indirect command, part of Scipio's orders to Masinissa.

21. **temporis**: Partitive genitive with **satis**: 'enough time'.

praegresso: Dative of advantage with **satis**: 'for the man who had gone ahead'.

VIII (b)

1. **ex composito**: 'according to plan'.

terrentis, timentis: Genitives with **modo**: 'in the manner of one who . . .'.

3. **hosti**: Dative of advantage: 'among the enemy'.

5. **dux:** i.e. Hanno.

16. **Hannoni Afrisque:** Datives of disadvantage with **circumfudere:** 'they swarmed round Hanno'.

21-22. Translate in this order: **victores secuti ceteros praecipue territos caede ducis effuse fugientes.**

IX (a)

3. **textis, tectis:** sc. *hibernaculis*.

pars maxima: In apposition to Numidae.

4. **ut . . . locis.** 'As happens in a position occupied without orders.' The Carthaginians' indiscipline gave Scipio his opportunity.

8. **quos mitteret:** Subjunctive of indefinite frequency: 'whom he sent from time to time'.

9. **primos ordines:** 'senior centurions'. The *primi ordines* were the six centurions of the first cohort of each legion. A centurion was promoted from cohort to cohort until he reached the first; the senior centurion of the first cohort, and therefore of the whole legion, was called *primus pilus* (or *primipilus*). See Plate V.

spectatae virtutis atque prudentiae: Descriptive genitives with **ordines**.

10. **qui:** the subject of **specularentur** (line 15).

11. **alius alia:** 'in different directions'. *Alia* is an adverb.

13. **haberent:** sc. *castra* as object.

14. **intervalli.** Partitive genitive. Polybius says that the distance was just over a mile.

16. **nocte an:** i.e. *utrum nocte an*. Indirect question.

17. **insidianti:** Dative of advantage with **opportuniore**.

alii atque alii: 'more and more'.

18. **quo essent:** Purpose clause. With a comparative (**pluribus**) the Romans regularly wrote *quo* instead of *ut*.

20. **his praeparatis**: Failing to win over Syphax, Scipio broke off the negotiations, launched his fleet, and sent a small force to Utica as though he was about to renew the siege.

21. **iussis**: Ablative absolute, agreeing with both **exploratoribus** and **Masinissa**.

23. **in proximam noctem**: 'for the following night'.

tribunis: cf. Introduction II.

24. **praetorio**: *Praetorium* usually means headquarters, but here it is the council of war at headquarters.

27. **primam vigiliam**. The night was divided into four watches, whose length varied according to the time of year.

IX (b)

1. **morata est**: Transitive, sc. *eum*: 'did not keep him waiting'.

2. **proxima quaeque et deinceps continua amplexus**: 'it seized the neighbouring buildings and then spread to all the huts one after the other'.

8. **Numidas**: In apposition to **hostes**.

18. **confusis**: Dative of disadvantage with **adimebat**. Translate in this order: *clamor adimebat sensum veri confusis sublatus esset* ('from them as they were uncertain whether it arose'. *Sublatus esset* is indirect question after *confusis*) **inter caedem et volnera an ex trepidatione nocturna**.

19. **pro se quisque**: 'every man for himself'.

ut quibus suspectum: 'like men who suspected'.

21. **restituendo igni**: Dative of purpose: 'which would be useful for putting out the fire'.

23. **praeterquam hostili odio**: Literally, 'besides through hatred of the enemy, also in order that'.

24. **ut in tali tumultu**: 'as happens amid such confusion'.

30. **quos**: = *ei quos*; *ei* is the subject of **absumpti**.

X

1. **debellato**: Impersonal ablative absolute: 'the war was over'.

quod . . . attineret: 'as far as Syphax and the Carthaginians were concerned'.

3. **machinas**: i.e. catapults, battering rams, and movable towers on which the besiegers could be brought up to the walls at the same height as the defenders.

9. **subiectos ei tumulo**: 'lying below that hill'.

13. **dictu**. Supine with **dignum**: 'worth mentioning'.

15. This was the normal Roman formation, and under any other general the *principes* would have advanced and taken the place of the *hastati* if their help was needed, while the *triarii* remained in reserve. But Scipio used his second and third lines in his own way, as we shall see in line 31 below (see note to line 31 and Introduction II).

19. **Celtiberos**: 4,000 mercenaries from Spain formed the hard core of Hasdrubal's army.

25. **miles**: Collective singular, as often. 'Troops.' Scipio's decision to attack at once was fully justified.

super cetera: 'apart from anything else'.

victoria: Ablative of cause with **terribilem**.

30. **oppugnatum**: Supine expressing purpose: 'to attack.'

31. **circumfusus undique hostibus**: Livy, not being interested in the details of military tactics, does not explain what Polybius makes clear, that once Hasdrubal's cavalry had been routed, the *principes* and *triarii* did not support the *hastati* in the usual way, but turned outwards and marched out to the flanks to encircle the Celtiberians. It was a repetition of Ilipa.

33. **temporis**: Partitive genitive with **aliquantum**.

XI

2. **legatorum verba:** i.e. the instructions to return to Carthage. Hannibal is the subject.

5. **retrahebant:** The Romans used the present and imperfect with *iam pridem* in the same way as the French do with *depuis*. *Iam pridem rogo* 'I have long been asking (and still am asking)', *iam pridem rogabam* 'I had long been asking'.

9. **Hanno:** Not the cavalry commander of VIII, but the leader of the peace party at Carthage, and throughout opposed to the war, which was carried on chiefly by members of one family, Barca, with very little support from the Carthaginian senate.

13. **praesidii specie:** 'as though for garrison duty'.

14. **quae pauca:** 'a few of which'.

19. **interfectis:** Probably a libel. Hannibal frightened the Romans so deeply that no crime was too vile to be ascribed to him. Cf. the contemporary description of Napoleon as 'The Corsican Ogre'.

23. **in se execratum:** Perfect infinitive: 'he cursed himself and his own life'.

25. **Romam:** Maharbal, Hannibal's cavalry commander, did indeed urge a march on Rome immediately after Cannae, promising that 'in five days we shall dine on the Capitol'. Most military critics believe that Hannibal was right to refuse, because he had no siege-train, without which he could not have stormed Rome. These words are moving rhetoric, but it must be considered unlikely that Hannibal in fact uttered them.

29. **Casilinum, Cumasque et Nola consenuisse:** After Cannae the Romans wore Hannibal down, refusing battle and laying siege to the towns he had captured, while Hannibal himself could not break out because no reinforcements reached him. These are three cities of the rich district of Campania.

XII

9. **Q. Fabius** Maximus Cunctator had led the conservative opposition to Scipio's plan to invade Africa. The Romans now remembered his warnings, which earlier they had been quite ready to ignore.

canere: 'to foretell'. The oracles given by prophets were often delivered in verse. **Fabius** is the subject of **solitum** (*esse*) and **Hannibal** of **futurum** (*esse*).

11-16. Translate in this order: **nec rem futuram Scipioni aut cum Syphace . . . aut cum socero . . . aut cum tumultuariis exercitibus . . . sed cum Hannibale**.

12. **barbariae**: Collective noun, = *barbarorum*.

Statorius semilix: Statorius was a centurion who had been sent on an embassy to Syphax and had stayed to train his army on Roman lines. *Semilix* means 'half a camp-follower', i.e. only half a soldier, little better than a civilian.

13. **socero eius Hasdrubale**. Syphax had been won over to the Carthaginian side by his marriage to Hasdrubal's daughter Sophonisba.

18. **senex**: Hannibal was no more than 44. The whole passage is a fine example of highly effective rhetorical exaggeration, e.g. Hannibal did not go to his father's headquarters until he was 9. It rises in an ascending scale: **nato . . . alito atque educato . . . puero . . . iuvene . . . senex**.

19. **ad fretum**: The Straits of Messina, between Italy and Sicily.

20. **ducere**: Hannibal is the subject.

21. **aequalem stipendiis suis**: 'which had served in all his campaigns'. **Stipendium**, literally 'pay', came to mean the year of service for which the soldier drew pay.

22. **quas vix fides . . . passos**: 'which it can scarcely be believed that men had endured'.

24. **imperatorum:** Three consuls had been killed in battle, Flaminius at Trasimene, Aemilius Paullus at Cannae, Marcellus in a skirmish, and two proconsuls also in the fighting in S. Italy.

27. **muralibus, vallaribus coronis:** Roman soldiers were rewarded for valour in scaling the walls of a city or the palisade of a camp with gold crowns representing the wall or palisade. Cf. Plate V for Roman military decorations.

29. **fascēs:** The bundle of rods and an axe which was carried by the lictors before magistrates who possessed *imperium*, to symbolise their powers of punishment. A praetor had two lictors, a consul twelve, a dictator twenty-four. Livy's imaginative picture of Hannibal's personal collection of the insignia of the generals he defeated is very striking.

37. **velut . . . horrebant:** Translate in this order: *horrebant eum velut fatalem ducem*, etc. Why did Livy not put *fatalem* in its natural position next to *ducem*?

XIII (a)

1. **armatis:** the generals' escorts.

3. **sed omnis ante se:** Translate in this order: *sed pares cuilibet regum imperatorumve omnis ante se memoriae omnium gentium*.

7. Hannibal's speech. Hannibal was an expert at psychological warfare, and so it would be a mistake to take his speech at its face value. He praises Scipio and his achievements very generously. What is he trying to do? Is he hoping to flatter Scipio into accepting his proposals for peace? Or is he warning him that he would do better to keep what he has already won, rather than to stake everything on a final gamble in which the winner takes all?

11. **utraque:** Neuter plural, in apposition to **adulescentiam** and **felicitem**.

12. **consiliis**: Dative of advantage with **opus est**: 'than is necessary for quiet deliberation'.

incerta casuum: 'the uncertainty of fortune'. This is a subtle attempt to undermine Scipio's confidence. How long will his unbroken run of success last?

13. **quem**: i.e. *is quem*. *Is* is the subject of **reputat**.

19. **quattuor Punicis exercitibus**: The armies under Hasdrubal Barca at Baecula, Hanno in Central Spain, and Hasdrubal Gisgo and Mago at Ilipa.

27. **victoriam malle quam pacem**: This was the mistake made in 1919 at the framing of the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler gained considerable support by playing upon the Germans' resentment of its harsh terms.

30. **ut**: 'although'.

31-34. **quem modo . . . videris, hic cernas**. Causal subjunctives: 'inasmuch as you lately saw me . . ., and here you see me'.

34. **duobus fratribus**: Hasdrubal Barca, killed at the Metaurus in 207, and Mago, who died in 203 of wounds received in N. Italy. Hannibal first learnt of Hasdrubal's death when his brother's head was catapulted into his camp. Is he asking for sympathy? Or is he delivering an impressive reminder, all the more effective for being unspoken, that Scipio is about to face a general of an entirely different class from any he has met before? '*Hannibal ad portas!*' was the threat used by generations of Roman mothers to quieten their unruly children, and it is not difficult to imagine the daunting effect of Hannibal's name upon the morale of Scipio and his troops.

36. **quibus**: The antecedent is **ea**. Translate in this order: *deprecantem pro mea ea quibus terrui vestram urbem*.

XIII (b)

8. **restitantem ac tergiversantem**: 'in spite of your reluctance and evasion'. *Tergiversor* is used particularly of a shifty defendant in a law-suit who tries every trick in order to avoid being brought to trial.

9. **verecundia obstrictus**: 'I am not bound to treat you with any respect'.

10. **ad ea in quae**: 'to the terms on which'.

11. **quasi multa navium**: 'for example, a fine for the ships'. A truce had been made after the battle of the Great Plains, but when some Roman supply ships had been driven ashore near Carthage their cargoes were too great a temptation to the hungry inhabitants, who swarmed out and plundered them. When Hannibal had returned the war-party at Carthage organised an attack upon some Roman ambassadors, in order to renew the struggle.

XIV (a)

5. **expedirent**: Indirect command after **pronuntiant**, with *ut* omitted.

7. **victores**: sc. *futuri*.

10. **praemio**: Dative after **par**; **quibus** (i.e. *eis quibus*) is possessive dative with **fuisse**.

19. **miscebant animos**: 'alternated in their minds'.

contemplantibus: follows **simul laeta simul tristitia obversabantur**.

26. **sua cuique decora**: 'each man's individual exploits'.

28. **Scipio**: The verb is *referebat*, understood from the previous sentence.

Hispanias: In 197 B.C. Spain was divided into two provinces, Citerior and Ulterior, and thus the Romans usually refer to the country in the plural.

29. **confessionem**: 'confession of weakness'.

31. **perfidia**: *Punica fides* was proverbial at Rome; they had to explain their frequent defeats by the Carthaginians somehow.

34. **celsus corpore**: 'with head erect'.

XIV (b)

1. **instruit:** Scipio is the subject.

hastatos: Livy's description is not clear, but Polybius explains that instead of adopting the usual formation, in which the *principes* covered the gaps in the line of *hastati* cf. Introduction II, Scipio placed the maniples of the three lines directly behind one another.

—	—	—	—	<i>Hastati</i>
—	—	—	—	<i>Principes</i>
—	—	—	—	<i>Triarii</i>

3. **cohortes:** Again Livy uses the terms of his own time. Cf. note on VI, line 2.

6. **cuius ante legati:** Translate in this order: *cuius-opera utebatur ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem* (quaestor extraordinary). Quaestors were usually selected for their posts by lot (*sors*), but Laelius was specially chosen to help Scipio.

10. **antesignanorum:** Here this means the *hastati*, who were drawn up in front of the standards.

velitibus: Marius about 100 years later abolished the *velites*, so that Livy feels it necessary to explain the term to his readers.

12. **post directos ordines:** 'behind the units drawn up in line'. The *velites* were either to run down the lanes between the maniples to the rear of the army, or to move aside to left and right between the *hastati* (*antesignani*) and *principes*, leaving the lanes clear for the elephants to pass through.

15. **in ancipitia tela:** 'exposed to weapons thrown from both sides'.

18. **auxilia:** The Ligures came from N.W. Italy around Genoa, the Gauls from the Po valley, the Balears—their

weapon was the sling—from the Balearic Islands, the best known of which are Majorca and Minorca.

20. **Macedonum legionem**: Hannibal did make an alliance after Cannae with Philip V of Macedon, but Philip began to think he had backed the wrong horse and made peace with Rome in 205 B.C. Therefore it is unlikely that there were any Macedonian troops at Zama; Livy may have got this statement from a Roman writer anxious to justify Rome's later hostility to Philip.

21. **intervallo**: i.e. A larger gap than usual. This interval formed a vital part of Hannibal's plan.

22. **Italicorum**: A serious mistake by Livy—these were the veterans of Hannibal's Italian army, his best troops, held in reserve like Napoleon's Old Guard at Waterloo.

XIV (c)

5. **equestri auxilio**: Ablative of separation after **nudavit**. Cf. the introduction to this chapter for the Carthaginian cavalry's part in the battle.

7. **cum multis suis vulneribus**: 'together with many wounds to themselves'. For a picture of an elephant see Plate VI (a).

9. **ancipites ad ictum**: 'exposed to fire from both flanks'.

17. **nec spe nec viribus**: If Livy means that the Carthaginians were now outnumbered, he is probably wrong. But he represents the Romans as more easily victorious than Polybius suggests.

18. **pondere**: Ablative of cause, explaining **stabilis**.

incumbentium: 'as they pressed upon'. Genitive agreeing with *Romanorum*, which is easily understood from *Romana*.

19. **illinc**: 'on the Carthaginian side'.

22. **in summos gradu inlato**: 'advancing as they pushed

them back'. Translate the main sentence (**aliquantum . . . incessere**) first, and then the participles.

24. **novissimis**: i.e. the *principes* and *triarii*.

25. **quod ipsum**: 'a fact which, in itself'.

26. **cedentes . . . adeo non sustinebant ut**: 'they were so far from supporting them as they gave ground that'.

28. **resistentes . . . primos**: 'those of the first line who resisted'.

31. **refugere, caedere**: Historic infinitives.

32. **non recipientes**: 'those who would not let them in'. What case?

ut: 'on the grounds that'.

XIV (d)

5. **tabem sanguinis**: 'pools of blood'.

7. **principum**: The bravery of the Carthaginian troops of Hannibal's second line had forced Scipio to send his *principes* to the support of the *hastati*, so that they were not available for outflanking.

10. **hastatis**: Dative of advantage: 'for the *hastati*'. Scipio was in an awkward situation, being suddenly faced by Hannibal's Old Guard when two of his ranks were in some disorder.

11. **quo . . . esset**: Purpose clause.

18. **secundam**: Really the third. Livy, because of his mistaken view of Hannibal's third line, supposes that the Carthaginians and not Hannibal's veterans from Italy were the *veros hostes*. All the forces on both sides were now engaged in a fight to the finish.

19. **in tempore**: 'at the right time'. Polybius makes it clear that until the cavalry's return the issue was very much in doubt.

XIV (e)

6. **instruxisse**: Indirect statement after **illam laudem**.

elephantos: Accusative in apposition to **aciem**. Similarly **auxiliares** etc. down to **Italicos**.

10. **ne . . . haberent**: The negative applies only to *haberent*, and not to the other verbs of this purpose clause (*fatigarent*, *hebetarent*).

16. **eo quod**. 'From the fact that'.

18. **socii an hostes essent**: Indirect question after **incertos**. Livy repeats his false idea of Hannibal's third line.

22. **sexto ac tricensimo**: Hannibal had left Carthage for Spain with his father, Hamilcar, in 237 B.C., aged nine. This was hardly the homecoming to which he had looked forward.

XV

6. **triumpho**: Triumphs were governed by strict rules. They were granted by the senate, and were often refused—Cicero asked for one in vain; one cannot really picture him as a conquering hero. The general had to have commanded in person on the day of victory; the battle had to be a major one against foreign enemies and not in a civil war. The triumph itself was a procession along the Via Sacra through the Forum to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The procession was composed of the magistrates and senate, spoils of the enemy, white oxen for sacrifice, the principal prisoners in chains, the lictors, the *triumphator* in a four-horse chariot wearing a special embroidered robe (*toga picta*) and a laurel crown, and with his face painted red. With him rode his children, and a slave who whispered '*Hominem te memento*' to ward off the jealousy of the gods. For the same reason the army, who marched behind the chariot, used to sing the rudest songs they could think of about their general. '*Io triumphe!*' was the cheer which greeted the *triumphator*. (See Plate VIII).

9. **quadrigenos**: sc. *asses*. The bronze *as* was originally 1 lb. in weight, but by 209 B.C. it had been reduced to 4 oz., and soon dropped out as the unit of currency, being replaced by the silver *denarius*, and the *sestertius*, a quarter of the *denarius*. Our own copper coinage is suffering a similar decline.

10. **spectaculo, gloriæ**: Datives after **subtractus**.

12. **conspecta**: 'attracted people's notice'.

16. **pilleo**: The cap of liberty worn by newly-freed slaves. Culleo had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians.

18. **cognomen**: Every Roman had the name of his gens (*nomen*), his personal name (*praenomen*), and his family name (*cognomen*) which indicated which branch of his gens he belonged to, e.g. Publius (*praenomen*) Cornelius (*nomen*) Scipio (*cognomen*). After the *cognomen* other names, often called *agnomina*, could be added.

20. **Sullae**: Sulla adopted the name Felix, which his followers had been using of him for some time, when his troops defeated Marius' adopted son, the last of his opponents.

Pompeii: Pompey was greeted as Magnus by Sulla after his defeat of the Marian forces in Sicily and Africa.

22. **parum compertum habeo**: 'I have not been able to discover'.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Afri, -orum** (*m.*): Africans.
Africa, -ae (*f.*): Africa.
Africanus, -i: Conqueror of Africa; title given to Scipio.
Alba, -ae (*f.*): Alba Fucens, a town of Central Italy, where Roman state prisoners were often kept.
Alexander, -dri (*m.*): Alexander the Great.
Alpes, -ium (*f.*): the Alps.
Anio, -enis (*m.*): a tributary of the Tiber, by which Hannibal camped when he marched on Rome, 211 B.C.
Attenis, -is (*m.*): king of the Spanish tribe of Turdetani, who came over to Scipio after Ilipa, 207 B.C.
- Baecula, -ae** (*f.*): a Spanish town, the scene of Scipio's victory over Hasdrubal Barca, 208 B.C.
Baliares, -ium (*m.*): inhabitants of the Balearic Islands.
Bruttius, -a, -um (*adj.*): Brutian.
Bruttii, -orum (*m.*): the inhabitants of the southern point of Italy.
- Cannae, -arum** (*f.*): a village of S.E. Italy, famous for Hannibal's great victory, 216 B.C.
Cannensis, -e (*adj.*): of Cannae.
Capitolium, -ii (*n.*): the Capitol hill at Rome, or the temple of Jupiter on that hill.
- Capua, -ae** (*f.*): A rich city of Campania, Hannibal's main base, 216–211 B.C.
Carthaginiensis, -e (*adj.*): Carthaginian.
Carthago, -inis (*f.*): Carthage.
Carthago Nova (*f.*): Cartagena, the main Carthaginian base in Spain.
Casilinum, -i (*n.*): a town of Campania.
Cato, Marcus Porcius: Scipio's quaestor in Sicily, but later his chief opponent.
Celtiberi, -orum (*m.*): a people of Central Spain used by the Carthaginians as mercenaries.
Coelius, Lucius Coelius Antipater: a Roman historian used by Livy.
Culleo, Quintus Terentius: a Roman captured by the Carthaginians and freed by Scipio.
Cumae, -arum (*f.*): a city of Campania.
- Emporia, -orum** (*n.*): a town on the S. coast of Tunisia.
- Fabius, Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator**: saved Rome by his delaying tactics after Trasimene, and led the opposition to Scipio's plan to invade Africa.
Flaminius, Caius: Scipio's quaestor in Spain.

Galli, -orum (*m.*): Gauls.

Gades, -ium (*f.*): Cadiz.

Hadrumetum, -i (*n.*): the port on the E. coast of Tunisia where Hannibal landed on his return from Italy.

Hannibal, -alis (*m.*): Hannibal.

Hanno, -onis (*m.*): (*a*) cavalry commander defeated by Scipio in N. Africa; (*b*) leader of the peace-party in Carthage.

Hasdrubal, -alis (*m.*): (*a*) Hannibal's brother, defeated by Scipio at Baecula; (*b*) son of Gisco, defeated at Ilipa (207 B.C.) and the Great Plains (203 B.C.).

Hiberus, -i (*m.*): the River Ebro, the boundary between Roman and Carthaginian spheres of influence in Spain.

Hispania, -ae (*f.*): Spain.

Ilipa, -ae (*f.*): a town in Spain, where Scipio defeated Hasdrubal Gisco, 207 B.C.

Italia, -ae (*f.*): Italy.

Italicus, -a, -um: Italian.

Iuno, -onis (*f.*): the goddess Juno, who had an important temple at Lacinium.

Lacinium, -a, -um: belonging to Lacinium, a town on the S. tip of Italy with a famous temple of Juno.

Laelius, Gaius: Scipio's right-hand man in Spain and Africa.

Ligures, -um (*m.*): a people of N.W. Italy.

Lilybaeum, -i (*n.*): a harbour in W. Sicily.

Macedones, -um (*m.*): Macedonians.

Mago, -onis (*m.*): commander of the Carthaginian garrison of New Carthage.

Marcus: one of Scipio's officers at Ilipa.

Masinissa: a Numidian prince, allied to Rome.

Mauri, -orum (*m.*): Moors.

Mercurius, -i (*m.*): Mercury.

Neptunus: god of the sea.

Nola, -ae (*f.*): a town of Campania.

Numidae, -arum (*m.*): Numidians, a people of N. Africa. The name means Nomad.

Poenus, -i (*m.*): a Carthaginian.

Polybius: a Greek historian, cf. Introduction III.

Pomponius, Marcus: Praetor in Sicily when Scipio sailed for Africa.

Pulcher, -chri (*m.*): a cape on N. African coast, Cape Bon.

Punicus, -a, -um: Carthaginian.

Pyrenaeus Mons: the Pyrenees.

Roma, -ae (*f.*): Rome.

Romanus, -a, -um: Roman.

Salaeca, -ae (*f.*): a town of N. Africa.

Scipio, Lucius, Cornelius: brother of Africanus and on his staff in Spain and Africa.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius: later called Africanus. The central figure of this book.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius: father of Africanus and Lucius, defeated and killed in Spain, 211 B.C.

Sicilia, -ae (*f.*): Sicily.

Siculus, -a, -um: Sicilian.

Silanus: one of Scipio's officers at Ilipa.

Statorius: a Roman centurion who trained Syphax' army.

Syphax, -acis (*m.*): King of Numidia, allied to Carthage.

Tarraco, -onis (*f.*): Tarragona, a town in Spain.

Tarraconensis, -e (*adj.*): of Tarragona.

Tibur, -uris (*n.*): Tivoli, a town on the Tiber.

Trasumennus, -i (*m.*): Lake Trasimene, the scene of one of Hannibal's victories, 217 B.C.

Turdetani, -orum (*m.*): a Spanish tribe.

Vtica, -ae (*f.*): a port in the bay of Tunis which Scipio tried to capture.

Zama, -ae (*f.*): a town in N. Africa, where Scipio defeated Hannibal, 202 B.C.

VOCABULARY

- ā, ab** (*prep.* with *abl.*): by, from.
- abeō, -īre, -ivī or iī, -itum** (*v.i.*): to go away.
- abrumpo, -ere, -rūpī, -ruptum** (*v.t.*): to break away.
- abnuō, -ere, -uī, -uitum** (*v.t.*): to deny.
- abstineō, -ēre, -uī, -tentum** (*v.i.*): to refrain from.
- absum, -esse, āfui** (*v.i.*): to be absent or distant from.
- absumō, -ere, -sumpsī, -sumptum** (*v.t.*): to spend, destroy.
- abundō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum** (*v.i.* with *abl.*): to abound in.
- ac, atque**: and.
- accendō, -ere, -dī, -sum** (*v.t.*): to set on fire, encourage.
- accessus, -ūs** (*m.*): approach.
- accio, -īre, -ivī, -itum** (*v.t.*): to summon.
- accipio, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum** (*v.t.*): to receive.
- accusō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum** (*v.t.*): to blame.
- ācer, -cris, -cre**: eager, strong.
- acies, -eī** (*f.*): battle-line, army, battle.
- acuō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum** (*v.t.*): to sharpen.
- ad** (*prep.* with *acc.*): to, for the purpose of; (with numbers): about; **ad hōc**: in addition.
- addō, -ere, -didī, -ditum** (*v.t.*): to add.
- adducō, -ere, -duxi, -ductum** (*v.t.*): to lead up to.
- adeo** (*adv.*): to such an extent.
- adferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum** (*v.t.*): to bring.
- adfiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum** (*v.t.*): to affect.
- adfirmō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum** (*v.t.*): to state, maintain.
- adflo, -āre, -āvi, -ātum** (*v.t.*): to breathe on, scorch.
- adfulgeō, -ēre, -fulsī** (*v.i.*): to shine on.
- adgredior, -ī, -gressus sum** (*v.t.*): to attack.
- adhibeō, -ere, -uī, -itum** (*v.t.*): to apply.
- adhortor, -ārī, -ātus sum** (*v.t.*): to encourage.
- adicio, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum** (*v.t.*): to throw in, add.
- adimō, -ere, -ēmī, -emptum** (*v.t.*): to take away.
- adipiscor, -ī, adeptus sum** (*v.t.*): to obtain.
- aditus, -ūs** (*m.*): entrance.
- adiuvō, -āre, -iūvi, -iūtum** (*v.t.*): to help.
- adluō, -ere, -uī** (*v.i.*): to wash against.
- admirātiō, -ōnis** (*f.*): admiration, wonder.
- admisceō, -ēre, -scui, -xtum** (*v.t.*): to mix with.
- admoneō, -ēre, -uī, -itum** (*v.t.*): to warn.
- admoveō, -ēre, -vī, -mōtum** (*v.t.*): to move up.
- adnumerō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum** (*v.t.*): to count.
- adscendō, -ere, -dī, -sum** (*v.t.*): to climb up.

adscensus, -ūs (m.): climb.
adsentatiō, -ōnis (f.): flattery.
adsimulō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.i.): to pretend.
adspiciō, -ere, -spexi, -spectum (v.t.): to look at.
adsuētūdō, -inis (f.): experience.
adsum, -esse, -adfuī (v.i.): to be present, assist.
adulescens, -entis (m.): a young man.
adulescentia, -ae (f.): youth.
adveniō, -ire, -vēni, -ventum (v.i.): to arrive.
adversus, -a, -um; facing, hostile; (*prep.* with *acc.*): against.
advocō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to call together.
aedēs, -is (f.): (*sing.*) temple; (*pl.*) house.
aedificō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to build.
aequālis, -e: equal.
aequō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to make equal.
aequus, -a, -um: equal, level.
aerārium, -iī (n.): treasury.
aes, -aeris (n.): bronze.
aestiva (castra), -orum (n.): summer quarters.
aestus, -ūs (m.): tide, heat.
aetās, -ātis (f.): age, time.
ager, -agri (m.): field, territory.
agilitās, -ātis (f.): manoeuvrability.
agmen, -inis (n.): column, the marching formation.
agō, -ere, -ēgi, actum (v.t.): to do, drive lead.
agrestis, -is (m.): countryman.
aiō (pres. ind. only): to say.
āla, -ae (f.): wing, shoulder.
alacritās, -ātis (f.): eagerness.
aliā (adv.): in another direction.

alibi (adv.): in another place;
alibi . . . alibi: in some places . . . in others.
aliēnus, -a, -um: belonging to someone else.
aliquando (adv.): at one time.
aliquantus, -a, -um (adv. aliquantō): considerable.
aliquis, -quid: some, any.
aliquot (indecl.): several.
alius, -a, -ud: some, other; **alii alios nominarent;** they proposed each other.
alō, -ere, alui (v.t.): to feed, support, bring up.
alter, -era, -erum: one, other (of two).
altitūdō, -inis (f.): height.
altus, -a, -um; high, deep;
altum: open sea.
ambiō, -ire, -ivi or -ii, -itum (v.t.): to go around.
ambo, -bae, -bo: both.
ambustus, -a, -um: half-burnt.
amittō, -ere, -misi, -missum (v.t.): to lose.
amnis, -is (m.): river.
amplector, -i, -plexus (v.t.) to take hold of.
an (conj.): or (in questions).
anceps, -itis: on two sides, doubtful.
ancora, -ae (f.): anchor.
angō, -ere, -xi, -ctum (v.t.): to distress.
anguis, -is (m.): snake.
angustiae, -arum (f.): a narrow place, pass.
animadverto, -ere, -verti, -versum (v.t.): to notice.
animātus, -a, -um: disposed, minded.
animus, -i (m.): mind, courage.
annus, -i (m.): year.
ante (adv. and prep. with acc.): before.

antesignānī, -ōrum (m.): skirmishers, front-rank men.
aperiō, -īre, -uī, -ertum (v.t.): to open, reveal.
apparātus, -ūs (m.): equipment.
appāreō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.i.): to appear.
appendō, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.t.): to weigh.
applicō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to tie up to, join.
apud (prep. with acc.): among.
aqua, -ae (f.): water.
arceō, -ēre, -uī, -ctum (v.t.): to keep off.
ardor, -ōris (m.): enthusiasm, energy.
argenteus, -a, -um: made of silver.
argentum, -ī (n.): silver.
arma, -ōrum (n.): weapons.
armāmentārium, -iī (n.): arsenal.
armō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to arm, equip.
ars, artis (f.): art, skill.
arx, arcis (f.): citadel.
aspernor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to despise, reject.
asprētum, -ī (n.): rough ground.
attinet ad (with acc.) (impers.): it concerns.
attonitus, -a, -um: astounded, struck dumb.
attrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to pull towards.
attribuō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (v.t.): to assign.
auctor, -ōris (m.): authority, person responsible for something.
audācia, -ae (f.): boldness.
audax, -ācis: bold.
audeō, -ēre, ausus sum (v.t. and i.) to dare.

audiō, -īre, -īvi, -itum (v.t.): to hear, listen to.
aufero, -ferre, abstuli, ablātum (v.t.): to take away.
augeō, -ēre, auxi, auctum (v.t.): to increase.
aura, -ae (f.): breeze, favour.
aureus, -a, -um: golden.
auris, -is (f.): ear.
aurum, -ī (n.): gold.
aut: or; **aut . . . aut:** either . . . or.
autem: but, moreover.
auxiliāres, -ium (m.): auxiliary troops.
auxilium, -iī (n.): help, auxiliary troops.
āvertō, -ere, -tī, -sum (v.t.): to turn away.

ballista, -ae (f.): catapult.
barbarus, -a, -um: barbarian, foreign.
bellicus, -a, -um: belonging to war.
bellum, -ī (n.): war.
bēlua, -ae (f.): beast.
bestia, -ae (f.): beast.
biduum, -ī (n.): a space of two days.
binī, -ae, -a: two each, both.
bis: twice.
bonus, -a, -um (adv. bene): good.

C: Gaius.

cadō, -ere, cecidī, cāsum (v.i.): to fall, be killed.
caedes, -is (f.): slaughter.
caedō, -ere, cecidī, caesum (v.t.): to cut, kill.
calamitās, -ātis (f.): disaster.
cāligō, -inis (f.): mist, darkness.
cālō, -ōnis (m.): camp-servant, (cook etc.).

campus, -i (*m.*): plain.
 canō, -ere, cecinī, cantum (*v.t.*
 and *i.*): to sound, foretell.
 capiō, -ere, cēpī, captum (*v.t.*):
 to take, capture.
 captivus, -a, -um: captured, a
 prisoner.
 captō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*):
 to grasp at.
 caput, -itis (*n.*): head, life,
 status.
 casa, -ae (*f.*): hut.
 castellum, -i (*n.*): fort.
 castra, -ōrum (*n.*): camp.
 cāsus, -ūs (*m.*): accident,
 chance.
 catapulta, -ae (*f.*): catapult.
 causa, -ae (*f.*): cause; causā
 (preceded by *gen.*): because
 of.
 cēdō, -ere, cessī, cessum (*v.i.*):
 to move, yield.
 celebrō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*):
 to make famous.
 celer, -eris, -ere (*adv.* *celeriter*):
 quick.
 celsus, -a, -um: lofty.
 centum: one hundred.
 centuria, -ae (*f.*): century.
 centuriō, -āre, -āvi, ātum (*v.t.*):
 to arrange in centuries.
 cernō, -ere, crēvi, crētum (*v.t.*):
 to see.
 certāmen, -inis (*n.*): struggle.
 certātīm (*adv.*): in rivalry.
 certus, -a, -um: certain, clear.
 cessō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.* and
i.): to cease.
 cēterum: but.
 cēterus, -a, -um: the rest.
 cibāria, -ōrum (*n.*): provisions.
 cibus, -i (*m.*): food.
 cingō, -ere, -nxi, -nctum (*v.t.*):
 to surround.
 circā (*adv.* and *prep.* with *acc.*):
 around, about.

circuitus, -ūs (*m.*): detour.
 circumdō, -dare, -dedī, -datum
 (*v.t.*): to surround, flank.
 circumducō, -ere, -duxi, -ductum
 (*v.t.*): to lead round.
 circumeō, -īre, -īvi or -ii, -itum
 (*v.t.*): to go round.
 circumfundō, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum
 (*v.t.*): to pour around.
 circummittō, -ere, -misi, -missum
 (*v.t.*): to send round.
 circumsonō, -āre (*v.i.*): to echo
 around.
 circumspectō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum
 (*v.t.*): to look around.
 circumvehor, -ī, -vectus sum
 (*v.i.*): to sail round, ride
 round.
 circumveniō, -īre, -vēni, -ventum
 (*v.t.*): to surround.
 citātō gradū: at a brisk pace.
 civis, -is (*m.*): citizen.
 civitās, -ātis (*f.*): state.
 clādes, -is (*f.*): disaster.
 clāmitō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*
 and *i.*): to shout repeatedly.
 clāmor, -ōris (*m.*): noise, shout,
 cheer.
 clārus, -a, -um: famous.
 classis, -is (*f.*): fleet.
 claudō, -ere, -si, -sum (*v.t.*): to
 shut.
 coeō, -īre, -ii, -itum (*v.i.*): to
 come together.
 coepī, -isse (*perf.* and *pluper.*)
 (*v.i.*): to begin.
 cōgitātiō, -ōnis (*f.*): thought,
 consideration.
 cognātus, -ī (*m.*): relation.
 cognōmen, -inis (*n.*): title.
 cōgō, -ere, coēgi, coactum (*v.t.*):
 to compel.
 cohors, -ortis (*f.*): cohort.
 cohortor, -āri, -ātus sum (*v.t.*):
 to encourage.
 collis, -is (*m.*): hill.

colō, -ere, -ui, cultum (v.t.): to respect.

comitia, -ōrum (n.): elections.

commeātus, -ūs (m.): supplies.

comminus (adv.): at close quarters.

compellō, -ere, -puli, -pulsum (v.t.): to drive.

comperiō, -īre, -peri, -pertum (v.t.): to find, find out.

compleō, -ēre, -ēvi, -ētum (v.t.): to fill.

compōnō, -ere, -posui, -positum (v.t.): to put together, form.

concedō, -ere, -cessi, -cessum (v.i.): to withdraw, yield.

conciliō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to win over.

concinō, -ere, -cinui (v.t.): to sound.

concipiō, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum (v.t.): to conceive.

concubitus, -ūs (m.): intercourse.

concurrō, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i.): to charge.

concurſatiō, -ōnis (f.): dash.

concurſus, -ūs (m.): collision.

condiciō, -ōnis (f.): condition, terms.

condūcō, -ere, -xi, -ctum (v.t.): to hire.

confertus, -a, -um: massed.

confessiō, -onis (f.): confession.

confestim: immediately.

conficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum (v.t.): to finish, finish off.

confligō, -ere, -xi, -ctum (v.t.): to come to grips with.

confundō, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to throw into confusion.

congerō, -ere, -gessi, -gestum (v.t.): to pile up, collect.

congregior, -ī, -gressus sum (v.i.): to meet.

coniciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to throw.

coniectus, -ūs (m.): throw.

coniungō, -ere, -nxi, -nctum (v.t.): to join, unite.

coniunx, -iugis (f.): wife.

conligō, -ere, -lēgī, -lectum (v.t.): to collect.

conloquium, -iī (n.): conversation.

conluviō, -ōnis (f.): dregs.

cōnor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.i.): to try.

conquisitiō, -ōnis (f.): collecting, conscription.

conscendō, -ere, -ndī, -nsum (v.t.): to mount, embark.

consenesco, -ere, -senui (v.i.): to grow old, grow feeble.

conserō (manūs), -ere, -ui, -sertum (v.t.): to join battle.

considō, -ere, -sēdī, -sessum (v.i.): to sit down, encamp.

consilium, -iī (n.): council, plan, advice.

consistō, -ere, -stitī, -stitum (v.i.): to stand, halt, take up a position.

conspectus, -ūs (m.): sight.

conspiciō, -ere, -spexi, -spectrum (v.t.): to see.

constat (impers.): it is agreed.

consternō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to throw into confusion.

constituō, -ere, -ui, -ūtum (v.t.): to draw up, decide.

consul, -ulis (m.): consul.

consultum, -ī (n.): resolution, decree.

consultō (adv.): deliberately.

contemplor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to consider.

contemptim: contemptuously.

conticescō, -ere, -ticul (v.i.): to become quiet.

contineō, ēre, -tinui, -tentum
(*v.t.*): to keep.

continuus, -a, -um: adjoining.

contio, -ōnis (f.): meeting.

contrā; (*prep.* with *acc.*) against;
(*adv.*): on the contrary.

contrahō, -ere, -traxi, -tractum
(*v.t.*): to draw together, concentrate.

conveniō, -īre, -vēni, -ventum
(*v.i.*): to come together, agree.

convertō, -ere, -ti, -sum (v.t.):
to turn, direct.

coerior, -iri, -ortus sum (v.i.):
to arise.

cōpia, -ae (f.) (sing.) supply;
(*pl.*): forces.

coquō, -ere, -xi, -ctum (v.t.): to cook.

cornū, -ūs (n.): horn, wing.

corona, -ae (f.): siege-works, crown.

corpus, -oris (n.): body.

crastinus, -a, -um: belonging to to-morrow.

crēber, -bra, -brum: frequent.

crēdō, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.):
to believe, (with *dat.*) trust.

creō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to elect, appoint.

crepido, -inis (f.): cliff.

crescō, -ere, -crēvi, crētum
(*v.i.*): to grow.

cruentus, -a, -um: blood-stained.

cruor, -oris (m.): blood.

cubiculum, -i (n.): room.

cubile, -is (n.): bed.

cum (prep. with abl.): with;
(*conj.*) when, since, although;

cum . . . tum: both . . . and.

cumba, -ae (f.): skiff.

cumulō, āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.):
to heap up, crown.

cumulus, -i (m.): heap.

cuntatiō, -ōnis (f.): hesitation, delay.

cunctor, -āri, -ātus sum (v.i.):
to delay, hesitate.

cunctus, -a, -um: every.

cūra, -ae (f.): care, anxiety.

cūria, -ae (f.): senate-house.

cūrō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to take care, (with *gerund*) to see to it.

cursus, -ūs (m.): course, rush, speed.

dē (prep. with abl.): about, concerning; **de industria:** on purpose.

dēbellō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.i.):
to finish a war.

dēcēdō, -ere, -cessi, -cessum
(*v.i.*): to go back, leave, die.

decem: ten.

dēcernō, -ere, -crēvi, -crētum
(*v.t.*): to decide, decree.

decimus, -a, -um: tenth.

dēcipiō, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum
(*v.t.*): to deceive.

dēcurrō, -ere, -curri, -cursum
(*v.i.*): to run down, run ashore.

decus, -oris (n.): honour.

dēdō, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.):
to surrender.

dēfectiō, -ōnis (f.): desertion.

dēfendō, -ere, -ndī, -nsum (v.t.):
to defend.

dēfensor, -ōris (m.): defender.

dēferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum
(*v.t.*): to carry down.

dēfessus, -a, -um: tired.

dēficiō, -ere, -fēci, -fectum (v.i.):
to fail, be lacking, revolt.

dēformitās, -ātis (f.): disgrace.

dēgredior, -i, -gressus sum (v.i.):
to go down.

dēiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.):
to throw down.

dein, deinde: then, next.

deinceps (adv.): in succession.

dēlābor, -ī, -lapsus sum (v.i.):
to fall down,
dēleō, -ēre, -ēvī, -ētum (v.t.): to
destroy.
dēligō, -ere, -lēgī, -lectum (v.t.):
to choose.
dēlūbrum, -ī (n.): temple.
dēmīttō, -ere, -mīsī, -missum
(v.t.): to send down.
dēmō, -ere, dempsī, demptum
(v.t.): to take away.
dēmum: at last.
dēprecor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.):
to pray to avoid.
dēscendō, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.i.):
to go down.
dēserō, -ere, -uī, -sertum (v.t.):
to desert.
dēsiderium, -ī (n.): longing.
dēsiliō, -īre, -siluī, -sultum
(v.i.): to leap down.
dēspērō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.):
to despair.
dēstinō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
to establish.
dēstituō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (v.t.):
to overthrow.
dētrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum
(v.t.): to drag away.
deus, -ī (m.): god.
dexter, -tra, -trum: right.
dextrā: on the right.
diciō, -ōnis (f.): power,
authority.
dīcō, -ere, dixī, dictum (v.t.): to
say.
dīdūcō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.):
to lead aside.
dies, -eī (m.): day; **in dies:** day
by day.
difficilis, -e: difficult.
dignus, -a, -um (with abl.):
worthy of.
dīmīcātiō, -ōnis (f.): struggle.
dīmīcō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.):
to fight.

dīmīdius, -a, -um: half; **dīmīdiā**
pars: a half.
dīmīttō, -ere, -mīsī, -missum
(v.t.): to send away.
dīrigō, -ere, -rexī, -rectum (v.t.):
to steer.
dīrimō, -ere, -ēmī, -emptum
(v.t.): to separate.
discrepat (impers.): there is dis-
agreement.
discrīmen, -inis (n.): crisis.
discurrō, -ere, -currī, -cursum
(v.i.): to scatter.
discursus, -ūs (m.): dispersal.
discutiō, -ere, -cussī, -cussum
(v.t.): to disperse.
disiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.):
to disperse.
dispar, -aris (with dat.): unlike.
dispōnō, -ere, -posuī, -positum
(v.t.): to arrange.
disserō, -ere, -uī, -sertum (v.t.
and i.): to speak.
dissimulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum
(v.t.): to conceal.
dissipō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
to spread.
distō, -āre (v.i.): to be distant.
distrāhō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum
(v.t.): to drag aside.
diū, diūtius: for a long time,
longer.
diūtīnus, -a, -um: long-lasting.
dīvidō, -ere, -vīsī, -vīsum (v.t.):
to divide.
dīvīnitus (adv.): by the gods, by
inspiration.
dīvīnus, -a, -um: divine.
dīvitīae, -ārum (f.): wealth.
dō, -are, dedī, -datum (v.t.): to
give.
doceō, -ēre, -uī, -ctum (v.t.): to
teach, explain.
documentum, -ī (n.): proof.
domus, -ūs (f.): house, family.
dōnec: until.

dubius, -a, -um: doubtful.
ducentī, -ae, -a: two hundred.
dūcō, -ere, duxī, ductum (v.t.): to lead.
dum: while, until, provided that.
duo, -ae, -o: two.
dūrō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to harden.
dūrus, -a, -um: hard.
dux, ducis (m.): general.

ē, ex (prep. with abl.): out of, as a result of.
ēdicō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to proclaim; **edictum:** proclamation.
ēdō, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.): to give out, inflict.
ēducō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to lead out.
ēducō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to educate.
ēfferō, -ferre, extulī, ēlātum (v.t.): to bring out, carry to the grave; **se efferre:** to exalt oneself; **elatus:** inspired.
effugiō, -ere, -fūgī (v.i.): to escape.
effugium, -iī (n.): refuge.
effulgeō, -ere, -sī (v.i.): to shine out.
effundō, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to pour out, rout, scatter; **effuse (adv.):** in disorder.
ēgredior, ī, -gressus sum (v.i.): to go out.
ēgregius, -a, -um: outstanding.
ēlābor, -ī, -lapsus sum (v.i.): to slip away.
elephantus, -i (m.): elephant.
ēliciō, -ere, -licuī, -licitum (v.t.): to entice.
ēlūdō, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to mock.

ēmittō, -ere, -misi, -missum (v.t.): to send out.
ēmolumentum, -ī (n.): reward.
enim: for.
ēnixe (adv.): strenuously.
eō, ire, ivi or ii, itum (v.i.): to go.
eō (adv.): to that place.
eōdem (adv.): to the same place.
eques, -itis (m.): cavalryman.
equester, -tris, -tre (adj.): cavalry.
equitātus, -ūs (m.): cavalry.
equus, -ī (m.): horse.
ērigō, -ere, -rexī, -rectum (v.t.): to raise, send up.
ēripiō, -ere, -ripiui, -reptum (v.t.): to seize.
error, -ōris (m.): mistake.
ērudiō, -ire, -ivi or ii, -itum (v.t.): to instruct.
et: and, also, even; **et . . . et:** both . . . and.
etiam: also, even.
ēvadō, -ere, -si, -sum (v.i.): to go out, escape, advance, climb, turn out.
ēvehōr, -i, -vectus sum (v.i.): to sail out.
ēveniō, -ire, -veni, -ventum (v.i.): to happen.
ēvertō, -ere, -tī, -sum (v.t.): to overthrow.
ēvolvō, -ere, -volvi, -volūtum (v.t.): to roll away.
exaedificō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to build.
exauctōrō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to discharge, dismiss.
excēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to go out, leave, exceed.
excidium, -iī (n.): destruction.
exciō, -ire, -ivi or ii, -itum (v.t.): to arouse.
excipiō, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum (v.t.): to meet.

excitō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to arouse.
exclūdō, -ere, -sī, -sum (*v.t.*): to shut out, cut off.
excurrō, -ere, -curri or -cucurri, -cursum (*v.i.*): to rush out.
excursiō, -ōnis (*f.*): raid.
excūsō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to excuse.
exemplum, -ī (*n.*): example.
exeō, -īre, -īvi or -ii, -itum (*v.i.*): to go out.
exerceō, -ēre, -ui, -itum (*v.t.*): to train.
exercitus, -ūs (*m.*): army.
eximius, -a, -um: outstanding, excellent.
exitium, -iī (*n.*): destruction.
exitus, -ūs (*m.*): way out.
exorior, -īri, -ortus sum (*v.i.*): to spring up, arise.
expediō, -īre, -īvi or -ii, -itum (*v.t.*): to provide, get ready;
expeditus: lightly equipped.
expellō, -ere, -puli, -pulsum (*v.t.*): to drive out.
exerior, -īri, -pertus sum (*v.t.*): to test, try; **expertus** (*with abl.*): experienced in.
explicō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to form.
explōrātor, -ōris (*m.*): scout.
expōnō, -ere, -posui, -positum (*v.t.*): to put out, disembark.
exprōmō, -ere, -prompsi, -promptum (*v.t.*): to express.
expugnō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to take by storm.
exsecror, -ārī, -ātus sum (*with in and acc.*): to curse.
exsequor, -ī, -secutus sum (*v.t.*): to carry out, fulfil.
exsilium, -iī (*n.*): exile.
expectātiō, -ōnis (*f.*): expectation.

expectō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to wait for.
exsultō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.i.*): to exult.
extendō, -ere, -dī, -tum (*v.t.*): to lengthen.
extemplō (*adv.*): at once.
extrā (*adv. and prep. with acc.*): outside, beyond.
extrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (*v.t.*): to draw out.
extraordinārius, -a, -um: unusual.
exuviae, -ārum (*f.*): spoils.
faber, -rī (*m.*): smith.
facilis, -e: easy.
faciō, -ere, feci, factum (*v.t.*): to do, make.
fallō, -ere, fefelli, falsum (*v.t.*): to deceive.
fāma, -ae (*f.*): rumour, reputation, story.
fames, -is (*f.*): hunger.
familia, -ae (*f.*): family, household.
familiāris, -e: of one's family, one's own.
fascēs, -ium (*m.*): fasces.
fastigium, -iī (*n.*): summit.
fātālis, -e: ordained by fate.
fateor, -ērī, fassus sum (*v.t.*): to admit.
fatigō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to weary.
faucēs, -ium (*f.*): narrows, defile.
faustus, -a, -um: fortunate, of good omen.
favor, -ōris (*m.*): favour, support, sympathy.
fēlicitās, -ātis (*f.*): good fortune.
fēlix, -īcis: fortunate, successful.
fere: almost.
ferme: almost.

ferō, ferre, tuli, lātum (*v.t.*): to bring, carry, (of a road) lead;

ferunt: men say.

ferox, -ōcis: bold, confident.

ferrum, -ī (*n.*): iron, sword.

fertilis, -e: fertile.

fessus, -ā, -um: tired.

festinātiō, -ōnis (*f.*): haste.

fides, -eī (*f.*): promise, trust, loyalty, belief.

fidūcia, -ae (*f.*): trust, confidence, belief.

filius, -iī (*m.*): son.

finiō, -īre, -ivī or -iī, -itum (*v.t.*): to finish.

finis, -is (*m.*): end.

fiō, fierī, factus sum (*v.i.*): to happen, become, be done.

firmo, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to strengthen.

firmus, -a, -um: firm.

flamma, -ae (*f.*): flame.

flectō, -ere, -xī, -xum (*v.t.*): to bend, turn.

flexus, ūs (*m.*): bend.

flōreō, -ēre, -uī (*v.i.*): to be in one's prime.

fluctuor, -ārī, -ātus sum (*v.i.*): to waver.

fluvius, -iī (*m.*): river.

foedus, -a, -um: disgraceful.

forēs, -um (*f.*): doors; **foris** (*adv.*): outside.

forma, -ae (*f.*): shape, size.

fortis, -e: brave.

fortuitus, -a, -um: accidental, uncontrolled.

fortūna, -ae (*f.*): fortune, luck, wealth.

forum, -ī (*n.*): forum, market place.

fossa, -ae (*f.*): ditch.

frangō, -ere, frēgī, fractum (*v.t.*): to break.

fremō, -ere, -uī, -itum (*v.i.*): to groan, mutter.

frendō, -ere, -dul, frensum (*v.i.*): to gnash one's teeth.

frēno, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to bridle.

fretum, -ī (*n.*): strait.

frētus, -a, -um (with *abl.*): relying on.

frons, -ontis (*f.*): front.

frumentum, -ī (*n.*): corn, provisions.

frustrā: in vain.

fuga, -ae (*f.*): flight.

fugax, -ācis: ready to flee.

fugiō, -ere, fūgī, fugitum (*v.i.*): to run away.

fugō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to put to flight.

fulgeō, -ēre, fulsī (*v.i.*): to shine.

fundō, -ere, fūdī, fūsum (*v.t.*): to pour, rout.

fūnus, -eris (*n.*): funeral.

gaudium, -iī (*n.*): joy.

gemō, -ere, -uī, -itum (*v.i.*): to groan.

gens, -ntis (*f.*): nation.

genū, -ūs (*n.*): knee.

genus, -eris (*n.*): race, kind, birth.

gerō, -ere, gessī, gestum (*v.t.*): to carry on.

gradus, -ūs (*m.*): step, pace.

grātia, -ae (*f.*): thanks, goodwill.

gravis, -e: heavy, harsh, troublesome.

gubernātor, -ōris (*m.*): helmsman, pilot.

habeō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (*v.t.*): to have, hold, consider.

habitō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.i.* with *abl.*): to live in.

habitus, -ūs (*m.*): dress, condition.

haereō, -ēre, haesi, haesum (*v.i.*): to stick, take hold.

harundō, -inis (f.): reed.
hastātī, -ōrum (m.): men of the front rank.
haud: not.
haudquāquam: by no means.
hauriō, -īre, hausī, haustum (v.t.): to consume.
hebetō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to blunt.
hibernācula, -ōrum (n.): winter quarters.
hic, haec, hōc: this, he, she, it.
hic (adv.): here.
hinc (adv.): from here, on this side.
hodiē: to-day.
homo, -inis (m.): man.
honor, -ōris (m.): honour;
honores habeo: to do honour to.
hōra, -ae (f.): hour.
hordeum, -ī (n.): barley.
horreō, -ēre, -uī (v.t.): to shrink from.
horreum, -ī (n.): granary.
hortor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to encourage.
hostilis, -e: belonging to the enemy.
hostis, -is (m.): enemy.
hūmānus, -a, -um: human.

iaciō, -ere, iēcī, iactum (v.t.): to throw.
iaculor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to throw.
iam: now, already; **iam diū;**
iam pridem: now for a long time.
ibi: there.
ictus, -ūs (m.): blow; **sub ictum:**
under fire.
idem, eadem, idem: the same.
identidem: repeatedly.
idōneus, -a, -um: suitable.
igitur: therefore.

ignāvia, -ae (f.): cowardice.
ignis, -is (m.): fire.
ignōminiōsus, -a, -um: disgraceful.
ignōrō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.):
to be ignorant of.
ignōtus, -a, -um: unknown.
ille, -a, -ud: that, he, she, it.
illinc, from there, on that side.
imāgō, -inis (f.): statue.
imbellis, -e: unwarlike.
imber, -bris (m.): rain.
immānis, -e: huge.
immensum, -ī (n.): immense size.
immineō, -ēre (v.i. with dat.):
to threaten.
immittō, -ere, -misi, -missum (v.t.):
to send against.
impār, -paris (with dat.): unequal.
impediō, -īre, -ivī or -ī, -itum (v.t.):
to hinder.
impensa, -ae (f.): expense.
imperātor, -ōris (m.): general.
imperium, -iī (n.): power, command, order.
imperō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.i. with dat.):
to order.
impetrō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.):
to obtain a request.
impetus, -ūs (m.): attack, speed.
impiger, -gra, -grum: vigorous.
impingō, -ere, -pēgī, -pactum (v.t.):
to thrust upon.
impleō, -ēre, -ēvi, -ētum (v.t. with acc. and gen.):
to fill with.
impōnō, -ere, -posui, -positum (v.t.):
to place upon.
in: (prep. with acc.) into, against, for the purpose of;
(with abl.): in, on.
incautus, -a, -um: careless.
incēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.):
to march.
incendium, -iī (n.): fire.

incendō, -ere, -dī, -sum (*v.t.*): to set on fire.

incertus, -a, -um: uncertain.

incidō, -ere, -cidī, -cāsum (*v.i.*): to fall upon.

incipiō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum (*v.t.*): to begin, undertake.

inclinō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to turn, move.

inclūdō, -ere, -sī, -sum (*v.t.*): to shut in.

incola, -ae (*m.*): inhabitant.

incolumis, -e: safe.

inconditus, -a, -um: disorderly.

incumbō, -ere, -cubui, -cubitum (*v.i.*): to press upon.

incurro, -ere, -curri or -cucurri, -cursum (*v.i.*): to charge.

inde: from there, from that time.

inducō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (*v.t.*): to lead into.

industria, -ae (*f.*): diligence, activity; **de industriā**: on purpose.

indūtia, -arum (*f.*): truce.

ineō, -īre, -īvi or ii, -itum (*v.t.*): to enter; **suffragium ineo**: to cast one's vote.

inermis, -e: unarmed.

infectus, -a, -um: unworked, unaccomplished.

inferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum (*v.t.*): to carry in; **signa infero**: to attack.

inferior, infimus: lower, lowest.

infirmiās, -ātis (*f.*): weakness.

infirmus, -a, -um: weak.

infra (*adv.* and *prep.* with *acc.*): below, further on.

ingens, -entis: huge.

ingerō, -ere, -gessi, -gestum (*v.t.*): to throw into.

ingredior, -ī, -gressus sum (*v.t.*): to enter.

iniciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (*v.t.*): to throw into.

iniquus, -a, -um: unfavourable

initium, -ii (*n.*): beginning.

inlūcescō, -ere, -luxī (*v.i.*): to grow light.

inlustris, -e: famous.

inmisceō, -ēre, -cui, -xtum (*v.t.*): to mix.

innitor, -ī, -nixus or -nisus sum (*v.i.* with *abl.*): to lean on.

inops, -opis: helpless; (with *gen.*): lacking in.

inquam (*defect. vb.*): to say.

inritō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to arouse.

inrumpō, -ere, -rūpi, -ruptum (*v.t.*): to break into.

inruō, -ere, -ui (*v.i.*): to rush upon.

insequor, -ī, -secutus sum (*v.t.*): to follow.

insidior, -ārī, -ātus sum (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to lie in ambush.

insidō, -ere, -sēdi, -sessum (*v.t.*): to occupy.

insignis, -e: conspicuous, famous, decorated; **insigne** (*n.*): signal.

insitus, -a, -um: ingrained.

internō, -ere, -strāvi, -strātum (*v.t.*): to saddle.

instō, -āre, -stiti, -stātum (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to press upon.

instrūmentum, -ī (*n.*): equipment.

instruō, -ere, -struxī, -structum (*v.t.*): to draw up.

integer, -gra, -grum: fresh, unharmed; **dē integrō**: anew.

integrō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to renew.

intentus, -a, -um: alert, concentrated.

inter (*prep.* with *acc.*): among, between, during.

interclūdō, -ere, -sī, -sum (*v.t.*): to cut off.

interdiū: by day.

intereō, -ire, -il, -itum (*v.i.*): to perish.

interest (*impers.*): it is important.
interficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum (*v.t.*): to kill.

interpres, -ētis (*m.*): interpreter.
intervallum, -i (*n.*): distance, interval.

interventus, -ūs (*m.*): interruption, arrival.

intolerābilis, -e: irresistible.

intrā (*adv.* and *prep.* with *acc.*): within.

intrepidus, -a, -um: unafraid.

intrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (*v.t.*): to enter.

intueor, -ērī, -uitus sum (*v.t.*): to look at.

intus (*adv.*): within.

inūtilis, -e: useless.

invādō, -ere, -sī, -sum (*v.t.*): to attack.

invehō, -ere, -vexī, -vectum (*v.t.*): to carry in, against.

inveniō, -ire, -vēnī, -ventum (*v.t.*): to find.

invidia, -ae (*f.*): envy.

inviolātus, -a, -um: unviolated.

ipse, ipsa, ipsum: himself, herself, etc.

is, ea, id: this, that, he, she, it, etc.

ita: in such a way, so.

itaque: therefore.

item (*adv.*): likewise.

iter, -ineris (*n.*): journey, route.

iterum: again.

iubeō, -ēre, iussī, iussum (*v.t.*): to order.

iūmentum, -i (*n.*): baggage-animal.

iūs, -iūris (*n.*): law.

iustus, -a, -um: just, proper.

iuvenis, -is (*m.*): young man.

iuventa, -ae (*f.*): youth.

iuvō, -āre, iūvī, iūtum (*v.t.*): to help.

labor, -ōris (*m.*): difficulty, hardship.

laccessō, -ere, -livi, -itum (*v.t.*): to harass.

lacrima, -ae (*f.*): tear.

laetus, -a, -um: glad.

laevus, -a, -um: left; **laevā**: on the left.

lātus, -a, -um: wide.

latus, -eris (*n.*): side, flank.

laus, -dis (*f.*): praise.

laxō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to open out.

lēgātus, -ī (*m.*): envoy, officer.

legiō, -ōnis (*f.*): legion.

lēnis, -e: gentle.

levis, -e: light, trifling; **levis armātūra, -ae** (*f.*): light-armed troops.

liber, -era, -erum: free.

liberī, -ōrum (*m.pl.*): children.

libertās, -ātis (*f.*): freedom.

librālis, -e: of a pound weight.

ligneus, -a, -um: wooden.

lintheum, -ī (*n.*): sail-cloth.

lītus, -oris (*n.*): shore.

locō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to place.

locus, -ī (*m.*): place, position.

longē (*adv.*): by far.

luctus, -ūs (*m.*): grief.

lūmen, -inis (*n.*): light.

lux, lūcis (*f.*): light; **prima luce**: at dawn.

M: Marcus.

māchina, -ae (*f.*): siege-engine.

maestus, -a, -um: sad.

magister, -trī (*m.*): ship's captain.

magistrātus, -ūs (*m.*): an officer of the state (e.g. consul).

magnitūdo, -inis (*f.*): size.

magnoperē, magis, maximē (*adv.*): greatly.
magnus, maior, maximus: great.
mālō, malle, mālui (*v.t. and i.*): to prefer.
mandātum, -ī (*n.*): command.
mandō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (*v.t.*): to entrust.
maneō, -ēre, mansi, mansum (*v.i.*): to remain.
manipulus, -ī (*m.*): manipule, made up of two centuries.
manus, -ūs (*f.*): hand, band of men.
mare, -is (*n.*): sea.
maritimus, -a, -um: by sea, maritime.
māter, -tris (*f.*): mother.
māteria, -ae (*f.*): supplies, material.
mātūrus, -a, -um: ripe, early.
mātūtinus, -a, -um (*adj.*): in the morning.
medius, -a, -um: middle.
memini, -isse (*v.i. with gen.*): to remember.
memoria, -ae (*f.*): memory, history.
mens, -ntis (*f.*): mind.
mercēnnārius, -a, -um: mercenary.
mercēs, -ēdis (*f.*): pay, reward.
mereō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (*v.t.*): to deserve; **bene mereo de**: to deserve well of.
meridiānus, -a, -um: of midday, southern.
meridiēs, -ēī (*f.*): midday.
metuō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (*v.t.*): to fear.
metus, -ūs (*m.*): fear.
meus, -a, -um: mine.
milēs, -itis (*m.*): soldier.
militāris, -e: military.

militia, -ae (*f.*): military service.
militō, -āre, -āvī (*v.i.*): to be a soldier.
mille (*pl. milia*): a thousand.
ministerium, -iī (*n.*): service, task.
minor, -us, minimus: less, least.
mirābilis, -et: remarkable.
mirāculum, -ī (*n.*): marvel.
misceō, -ēre, -uī, -xtum (*v.t.*): to mix.
missilis, -e: suitable for throwing.
mittō, -ere, misi, missum (*v.t.*): to send.
moderor, -ārī, -ātus sum (*v.t.*): to limit, control.
modicus, -a, -um: little, moderate.
modius, -iī (*m.*): bushel.
modo (*adv.*): only, merely, lately.
modus, -ī (*m.*): way, limit.
moenia, -ium (*n. pl.*): walls.
mōlēs, -is (*f.*): mass, weight.
mollis, -e: gentle.
moneō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (*v.t.*): to warn, advise.
monumentum, -ī (*n.*): memorial.
mora, -ae (*f.*): delay.
morior, -ī, mortuus sum (*v.i.*): to die.
moror, -ārī, morātus sum (*v.t. and i.*): to halt, delay.
mors, -rtis (*f.*): death.
mortālis, -e: mortal.
mōs, mōris (*m.*): custom, routine.
moveō, -ēre, mōvī, mōtum (*v.t.*): to move.
mox: soon.
multa, -ae (*f.*): fine.
multitūdō, -inis (*f.*): crowd, large number.

multus, -a, -um: much, many;
multo (*adv.*): much.
mūnimentum, -ī (*n.*): fortification.
mūnio, -īre, -īvi, -ītum (*v.t.*): to build, fortify.
mūrus, -ī (*m.*): wall.
mūtō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to change.
mūtuus, -a, -um: mutual.

nascor, -ī, nātus sum (*v.i.*): to be born.
nauticus, -ī (*m.*): sailor.
nāvāle, -is (*n.*): dockyard.
nāvālis, -e: nautical.
nāvis, -is (*f.*): ship.
nāvō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to strive; **operam navo:** to do one's best.
nē (*conj.*): that not, lest.
nebula, -ae (*f.*): cloud, mist.
necessārius, -a, -um: necessary.
necesse est: it is necessary.
necessitās, -ātis (*f.*): necessity.
neglegō, -ere, -lexī, -lectum (*v.t.*): to neglect, overlook.
nēmō (*irreg.*): no one.
nēquāquam: not at all.
neque or **nec:** and not; **neque . . . neque:** neither . . . nor.
nequeō, -īre, -īvi (*v.i.*): to be unable.
neuter, -tra, -trum: neither.
nihil (*indecl. n.*): nothing, not at all.
nimirum: doubtless, of course.
nisi: if not, unless.
nōbilis, -e: noble, high-born.
nōbilitō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to honour.
nocturnus, -a, -um: by night.
nōlō, nolle, nōluī (*v.i.*): to be unwilling.
nōmen, -inis (*n.*): name, status.

nōminō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to name, propose.
nōn: no, not.
nondum: not yet.
nonne, introduces a question expecting the answer 'Yes'.
nōs: we.
noscō, -ere, nōvī, nōtum (*v.t.*): to get to know (*perf.*) to know.
novō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to renew.
novus, -a, -um: new; **novissimus:** newest, last.
nox, noctis (*f.*): night.
nūbēs, -is (*f.*): cloud.
nūdō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to expose, strip, deprive.
nūdus, -a, -um: exposed, unprotected.
nullus, -a, -um: no, none.
numerus, -ī (*m.*): number.
nunc: now.
nunquam: never.
nuntiō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to announce.
nuntius, -iī (*m.*): messenger news.
nūper, lately.
nusquam: nowhere.

obeō, -īre, -īvi, -ītum (*v.t.*): to inspect.
obequitō, -āre, -āvi (*v.i. with dat.*): to ride up to.
obicīō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (*v.t.*): to throw against, oppose.
obliquus, -a, -um: slanting; **in obliquum:** sideways.
obliviscor, -ī, oblitus sum (*v.i. with gen.*): to forget.
oboediō, -īre, -īvi, -ītum (*v.i. with dat.*): to obey.
obruō, -ere, -uī, -utum (*v.t.*): to overwhelm, block.
obsēs, -idis (*m.*): hostage.

obsideō, -ēre, -sēdī, -sessum (*v.t.*): to besiege, throng.
obsidiō, -ōnis (f.): siege.
obstistō, -ere, -stīti (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to stand in the way.
obstinatē: firmly, stubbornly.
obstō, -āre, -stīti (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to stand in the way.
obstringō, -ere, -nxī, -strictum (*v.t.*): to bind.
obterō, -ere, -trīvi, -tritum (*v.t.*): to crush.
obtimeō, -ēre, -tinui, -tentum (*v.t.*): to hold, occupy.
obtrectātiō, -ōnis (f.): criticism.
obveniō, -ire, -vēnī, -ventum (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to intervene in.
obversor, -ārī, -ātus sum (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to come to mind.
obvertō, -ere, -verti, -versum (*v.t.*): to turn to meet.
obvius, -a, -um (with *dat.*): in the way of.
occāsiō, -ōnis (f.): opportunity.
occāsus, -ūs (m.): falling; **solis occasus**: sunset.
occidiō, -ōnis (f.): destruction, extermination.
occidō, -ere, -cidi, -cisum (*v.t.*): to kill.
occidō, -ere, -cidi, -cāsum (*v.i.*): to fall.
occipiō, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum (*v.t.* and *i.*): to begin, arise.
occulō, -ere, -cului, -cultum (*v.t.*): to hide.
occupō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (*v.t.*): to seize.
occurrō, -ere, -curri, -cursum (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to run to meet, charge.
octō: eight.
octōginta: eighty.
oculus, -ī (m.): eye, sight.
odium, -ii (n.): hatred.

officinā, -ae (f.): workshop.
offundō, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (*v.t.*): to pour over.
ōmen, -inis (n.): omen.
ōminor, -ārī, -ātus sum (*v.t.*): to predict.
omnis, -e: every, all.
onerāria navis: merchant ship.
onus, -eris (n.): weight, burden, cargo.
opem, opis (f.): (*sing.*) help, (*pl.*) wealth, resources.
opera, -ae (f.): work, service.
opiniō, -ōnis (f.): thought, expectation.
oppidāni, -ōrum (m.pl.): townspeople.
oppidum, -ī (n.): town.
oppōnō, -ere, -posui, -positum (*v.t.*): to place against, station.
opportūnus, -a, -um: advantageous.
opprimō, -ere, -pressi, -pressum (*v.t.*): to take by surprise, overwhelm.
oppugnātiō, -ōnis (f.): attack.
oppugnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (*v.t.*): to storm.
opulentus, -a, -um: wealthy.
opus, -eris (n.): work, siege-works; **opus est** (with *abl.*): there is need of.
ōra, -ae (f.): shore, edge.
ōrāculum, -ī (n.): oracle.
orbis, -is (m.): circle; **orbis terrarum**: the world.
orbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (*v.t.*): to deprive, bereave.
ordinō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (*v.t.*): to organise.
ordior, -irī, orsus sum (*v.t.*): to begin.
ordō, -inis (m.): arrangement, rank, formation.
orior, -irī, ortus sum (*v.i.*): to arise. **oriens**: the east.

ornō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to equip.

ōs, ōris (n.): mouth, face.

os: ossis (n.): bone.

ostendō, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.t.): to show.

ostentātiō, -ōnis (f.): display.

ostentō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to show.

P: Publius.

paenitet, -ēre, -tuit (impers. v. with gen.): to repent, regret.

palam: openly.

pār, paris (with dat.): equal to.

parcō, -ere, pepercī, parsum (v.i. with dat.): to spare.

parens, -ntis (m.): parent, relation.

pariō, -ere, peperī, partum (v.t.): to produce, accomplish.

pariter, equally.

parō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to prepare.

pars, partis (f.): part, side, direction.

partim: partly.

parum (with gen.): too little.

parumper: for a little while.

passim: on all sides.

passus, -ūs (m.): pace; **mille passus:** a mile.

patefaciō, -ere, -fēcī, -factum (v.t.): to open.

pateō, -ēre, -uī (v.i.): to lie open, extend.

pater, -tris (m.): father.

patera, -ae (f.): dish.

patientia, -ae (f.): suffering.

pator, -ī, passus sum (v.t.): to suffer, endure.

patria, -ae (f.): native land.

patruus, -ī (m.): uncle.

paucus, -a, -um: few.

paulātim: gradually.

paulisper: for a little while.

paulō (adv.): a little.

pavidus, -a, -um: frightened.

pavor, -ōris (m.): fear.

pax, pācis (f.): peace.

pecūnia, -ae (f.): money.

pedes, -itis (m.): foot-soldier.

pedester, -tris, -tre: on foot, on land.

pellō, -ere, pepulī, pulsum (v.t.): to drive.

penātes, -ium (m.): household gods.

pensō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to weigh.

per (prep. with acc.): through, by means of.

percellō, -ere, -culī, -culsum (v.t.): to dismay.

percontor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to ask.

perdō, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.): to destroy.

perficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum (v.t.): to finish.

perfidia, -ae (f.): treachery.

perfugiō, -ere, -fūgī (v.i.): to take refuge.

perfundō, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to drench.

pergō, -ere, perrexī, perrectum (v.i.): to proceed.

periculum, -ī (n.): danger.

perinde ac: just as.

peritus, -a, -um (with gen.): skilled in.

permisceō, -ēre, -scul, -xtum (v.t.): to mix thoroughly.

permittō, -ere, -misi, -missum (v.t.): to allow, entrust.

peropportūnē: very conveniently.

perpetuus, -a, -um: uninterrupted; **in perpetuo:** for ever.

perplexē: obscurely.

persaepe: very often.

persequor, -ī, -secūtus sum (v.t.): to follow up, avenge.
pertinācia, -ae (f.): determination.
pertinax, -ācis: stubborn.
pertrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to draw onward.
pervagor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to cross, wander through.
perveniō, -īre, -vēnī, -ventum (v.i.): to reach.
pēs, pedis (m.): foot.
petō, -ere, -ivī, -itum (v.t.): to seek, make for, stand for an office.
pietās, -ātis (f.): piety, family loyalty.
pilleus, -ī (m.): the cap of liberty.
pilum, -ī (n.): javelin.
piscātor, -ōris (m.): fisherman.
placet, -ēre, -uit (impers. v. with dat.): it pleases.
plānitēs, -eī (f.): level ground.
plānus, -a, -um: level.
plēnus, -a, -um (with gen. or abl.): full.
plērique, pleraeque, pleraque: most.
plērumque (adv.): very much, very often.
plūs, plūris: more; (*adv.*) **plus, plurimum:** more, most.
pondus, -eris (n.): weight.
pōnō, -ere, posuī, positum (v.t.): to place, pitch (camp).
populāris, -e: of the people.
populātiō, -ōnis (f.): plundering.
populus, -ī (m.): people, nation.
porta, -ae (f.): gate.
portō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to carry.
portus, -ūs (m.): harbour.
poscō, -ere, poposci (v.t.): to demand.

possessiō, -ōnis (f.): occupation.
possum, posse, potuī (v.i.): to be able.
posterus, -a, -um: next, future.
post (prep. with acc.): after, behind; (*adv.*): after.
postmodo: afterwards.
postquam (conj.): after.
postrēmus, -a, -um: last.
postrēmum, postrēmō (adv.): at last, finally.
potens, -ntis: powerful.
potestās, -ātis (f.): power, opportunity.
potior, -irī, -ītus sum (v.i. with abl.): to obtain.
potius, potissimum (adv.): rather, especially.
prae (prep. with abl.): in front of, on account of.
praebeō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.t.): to provide.
praeceps, -itis: headlong, steep.
praeceptum, -ī (n.): instruction, order.
praecipio, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum (v.t.): to instruct, gain.
praecipuus, -a, -um: conspicuous; **praecipuē (adv.):** especially.
praeda, -ae (f.): plunder, booty.
praedamnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to abandon.
praefectus, -ī (m.): commander.
praegredior, -ī, -gressus sum (v.i.): to go ahead.
praemittō, -ere, -misi, -missum (v.t.): to send ahead.
praemium, -iī (n.): prize.
praeparō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to prepare beforehand.
praerumpō, -ere, -rūpī, -ruptum (v.t.): to break off.
praesāgiō, -īre, -ivī (v.t.): to foresee.

praesens, -ntis: present.
praesidium, ii (n.): protection, garrison.
praestō, -āre, -stiti, -stitum (v.t.): to provide.
praesum, -esse, -fui (v.i. with dat.): to be in charge of.
praeter (prep. with acc.): except, beyond.
praetor, -ōris (m.): praetor.
praetōrius, -a, -um: belonging to the general; **praetorium**: headquarters.
prandeō, -ēre, -dī (v.i.): to breakfast, feed.
precor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to pray, beg.
premō, -ere, pressī, pressum (v.t.): to force.
prīdiē: on the day before.
primus, -a, -um (adv. primum, primo): first.
princeps, -ipis: first, leading; (*subst.*) a chief.
principēs, -um: second rank (cf. Introduction II).
principium, -iī (n.): beginning.
prior, -ōris: former, earlier.
prius (adv.): before.
priusquam (conj.): before.
privātus, a, -um: private.
prō (prep. with abl.): in front of, on behalf of.
prōcēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to advance.
prōconsul, -ulis (m.): proconsul.
procul: far.
prōcurro, -ere, -currī, -cursum (v.i.): to charge.
prōdigium, -iī (n.): monster, portent.
proelium, -iī (n.): battle.
proficiscor, -ī, profectus sum (v.i.): to set out.
profiteor, -ērī, -fessus sum (v.t.): to volunteer.

prohibeō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.t.): to prevent.
proindē: accordingly.
prōmissum, -ī (n.): promise.
prōmunturium, -iī (n.): headland.
prope (adv.): nearly; (*prep. with acc.*) near.
properē: hurriedly.
properō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t. and i.): to hurry.
propior, propius: nearer.
propinquus, -a, -um: near, neighbouring.
prōpōnō, -ere, -posuī, -positum: to explain.
propter (prep. with acc.): on account of.
prorsus (adv.): certainly.
prōsiliō, -ire, -uī (v.i.): to leap forward.
prōvehō, -ere, -vexī, -vectum (v.t.): to carry forward.
prōvincia, -ae (f.): province, sphere of duty.
proximus, -a, -um: nearest, next.
prūdētia, -ae (f.): good sense, discretion.
pūber, -eris: grown up.
pūblicus, -a, -um: public, official.
puer, -ī (m.): boy.
pugna, -ae (f.): fight.
pugnō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to fight.
pulcher, -chra, -chrum: beautiful, splendid.
pulsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to strike, drive away.

Q: Quintus.

quā: where.

quadrāgintā: forty.

quadrīngēni, -ae, -a: 400 each.

quadrīngentī, -ae, -a: 400.

quaerō, -ere, quaesivī, quaesitum (*v.t.*): to seek, ask.

quaestor, -ōris (m.): quaestor.

quam: as, how, than.

quamquam: although.

quandō: when, since.

quantus, -a, -um: (*interrog.*) how much? (*rel.*) as many as.

quartus, -a, -um: fourth.

quattuor: four.

quemadmodum: how, as.

queō, -ēre, -ivī, -itum (v.i.): to be able.

queror, -ī, questus sum (v.t. and i.): to complain, complain of.

quī, quae, quod (rel.): who, which.

quia: because.

quicumque, quaecumque, quodcumque (rel.): whoever, whatever.

quidam, quaedam, quoddam: a certain.

quidem: even; *ne . . . quidem*: not even.

quies, -ētis (f.): rest.

quiētus, -a, -um: quiet, peaceful.

quilibet, quaelibet, quodlibet: anyone at all.

quīn: on the contrary, but that.

quindecim: 15.

quingenti, -ae, -a: 500.

quingūgintā: 50.

quinque: five.

quintus, -a, -um: fifth.

quippe: for; **quippe qui** (*with subj.*): inasmuch as.

quis, quid (interrog.): who? what?

quisnam, quāenam, quidnam: who in the world!

quisquam, quaequam, quicquam: anyone, anything.

quisque, quaeque, quodque: each, every.

quisquis, quicquid (rel.): whoever, whatever.

quō: where to?

quoad: as long as, until.

quondam: formerly.

quoniam: because.

quoque: also.

quot: (*interrog.*) how many? (*rel.*) as many as.

rādix, -icis (f.): root, base.

raptim: hurriedly.

rārō (adv.): rarely.

rārus, -a, -um: few, scattered, here and there.

ratio, -ōnis (f.): reasoning, plan, way.

recens, -ntis: new, fresh.

receptāculum, -ī (n.): store.

receptus, -ūs (m.): retreat; **receptui cano**: to sound retreat.

reciperō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to win back.

recipiō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum (v.t.): to take back; **se recipere**: to retreat.

rectus, -a, -um: straight.

redeō, -ire, -iī, -itum (v.i.): to return.

redintegrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to renew.

reditus, -ūs (m.): return.

redūcō, -ere, -dūxī, -ductum (v.t.): to lead back.

referō, -ferre, -ttulī, -lātum (v.t.): to bring back, report;

pedem refero: to retreat.

refringō, -ere, -frēgī, -fractum (v.t.): to break down.

refugiō, -ere, -fūgī (v.i.): to run away, escape.

regiō, -ōnis (f.): district.

rēgius, -a, -um: belonging to a king.

regnum, -ī (n.): kingdom.

regredior, -ī, -gressus sum (v.i.): to return.

rēgulus, -i (m.): prince, chief-tain.
religiō, -ōnis (f.): awe, religious scruple.
relinquō, -ere, -liqui, -lictum (v.t.): to leave.
reliquus, -a, -um: remaining, the rest.
relūceō, -ēre, -xi (v.i.): to shine out.
rēmex, -igis (m.): rower.
renuntiō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to report back.
reor, rēri, ratus sum (v.t.): to think.
repentē: suddenly.
repleō, -ēre, -ēvi, -ētum (v.t.): to refill, fill up.
reputō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to think over.
rēs, rēi (f.): thing, business, fortunes, achievements; **in rem:** to the point; **res gestae:** achievements; **res publica:** state affairs, the state.
residō, -ere, -sēdi (v.i.): to settle down, abate.
resiliō, -ire, -ui (v.i.): to leap back.
resistō, -ere, -stiti (v.i. with dat.): to resist.
respiō, -ere, -spexi, -spectum (v.t.): to look back at, recall.
respondeō, -ēre, -di, -sum (v.i.): to reply.
restringuō, -ere, -nxi, -nctum (v.t.): to put out, extinguish.
restituō, -ere, -ui, -ūtum (v.t.): to restore.
retineō, -ēre, -ui, -tentum (v.t.): to hold back.
retrahō, -ere, -xi, -ctum (v.t.): to pull back.
revertō, -ere, -ti, -sum (v.t.): to turn back; (*intr.*) return.

revocō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to call back.
rex, rēgis (m.): king.
ripa, -ae (f.): bank.
rōbor, -oris (n.): strength; **robor exercitus:** the flower of the army.
rostrātus, -a, -um: fitted with a beak or ram; **navis rostrata:** warship.
ruina, -ae (f.): destruction.
ruō, -ere, rui, rutum (v.i.): to rush, fall.
rursus (adv.): again.
saepe: often.
saliō, -ire, -ui, saltum (v.i.): to leap.
salūs, -ūtis (f.): safety.
sanguis, -inis (m.): blood.
satis: enough, quite, very; (*with gen.*) enough of.
saucius, -a, -um: injured.
saxum, -i (n.): stone.
scālae, -arum (f.): ladder.
scandō, -ere (v.t.): to climb.
scapha, -ae (f.): small boat.
sciō, -ire, -ivi, -itum (v.t.): to know.
scorpiō, -ōnis (m.): catapult.
scūtum, -i (n.): shield.
sē or sēsē: himself, themselves.
sēcrētus, -a, -um: secret.
secundus, -a, -um: second, favourable.
secus (indecl. n.): sex.
secus (adv.): otherwise.
sed: but.
sēdecim: sixteen.
sēdulō (adv.): on purpose.
segnis, -e: sluggish, slow.
semel: once.
sēmermis, -e: half-armed, badly armed.
sēmisorpnus, -a, -um: half-asleep.

semper: always.
 senātus, -ūs (*m.*): senate.
 senex, senis (*m.*): old man.
 sēnī, -ae, -a: six each.
 sensim: gradually.
 sensus, -us (*m.*): realisation.
 sentiō, -īre, -sī, -sum (*v.t.*): to perceive, feel, realise.
 septentriō, -ōnis (*m.*): north wind.
 septimus, -a, -um: seventh.
 septuāgintā: seventy.
 sepulcrum, -ī (*n.*): tomb.
 sequor, -ī, secūtus sum (*v.t.*): to follow.
 sermō, -ōnis (*m.*): conversation.
 serpō, -ere, -psī, -ptum (*v.i.*): to creep, spread.
 sērus, -a, -um: late.
 servilis, -e: fit for a slave.
 servō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to save, keep safe.
 servus, -ī (*m.*): slave.
 sescentī, -ae, -a: 600.
 seu . . . seu: whether . . . or.
 sex: six.
 sexāgintā: sixty.
 sextus, -a, -um: sixth.
 sī: if.
 sicut: just as, as if.
 sīdō, -ere, sīdī (*v.i.*): to sit down, rest on.
 signātus, -a, -um: carved, worked.
 signum, -ī (*n.*): signal, standard.
 silentium, -iī (*n.*): silence.
 simul: at the same time; simul atque, as soon as.
 simulācrum, -ī (*n.*): pretence.
 simulātiō, -ōnis (*f.*): pretence.
 sine (*prep.* with *abl.*): without.
 singulāris, -e: unique.
 singulī, -ae, -a: one each, one at a time.
 sinister, -tra, -trum: left.
 sinus, -ūs (*m.*): loop.

sitis, -is (*f.*): thirst.
 situs, -ūs (*m.*): site.
 sive . . . sive: whether . . . or.
 socer, -erī (*m.*): father-in-law.
 socius, -iī (*m.*): ally, comrade.
 sōl, sōlis (*m.*): sun.
 soleō, -ēre, -itus sum (*v.i.*): to be accustomed.
 sollicitūdō, -inis (*f.*): anxiety.
 sōlus, -a, -um: alone; solum (*adv.*): only.
 solvō, -ere, solvī, solūtum (*v.t.*): to loose, unmoor.
 somnus, -ī (*m.*): sleep.
 sors, sortis (*f.*): lot, chance, fate.
 spargō, -ere, -sī, -sum (*v.t.*): to scatter.
 spatium, -iī (*n.*): space, distance.
 speciēs, -ēī (*f.*): appearance, sight, show.
 spectāculum, -ī (*n.*): show, performance.
 spectātor, -ōris (*m.*): spectator.
 spectō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (*v.t.*): to watch, examine, prove.
 speculor, -ārī, -ātus sum (*v.t.*): to spy out, observe.
 spernō, -ere, sprēvī, sprētum (*v.t.*): to despise, reject.
 spēs, speī (*f.*): hope, expectation.
 spiritus, -ūs (*m.*): breath, life, courage.
 sponte (*abl. fem.* with *meā, tuā, etc.*): of one's own accord.
 stabilis, -e: firm, steadfast.
 stagnum, -ī (*n.*): pool, lagoon.
 statio, -ōnis (*f.*): position, outpost.
 stativa, -ōrum (*n.*): standing camp.
 statuō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (*v.t.*): to decide, arrange.
 sternō, -ere, strāvī, strātum (*v.t.*): to scatter.

stipendium, -iī (n.): pay, campaign.
stirps, stirpis (f.): race, descendant.
stō, -are, steti, statum (v.i.): to stand.
storea, -ae (f.): straw.
strāgēs, -is (f.): overthrow, confusion, slaughter.
strepō, -ere, -uī (v.i.): to resound.
sub: (*prep.* with *acc.*) up to, towards; (with *abl.*): under.
subdūcō, -ere, -duxī, -ductum (v.t.): to lead back.
subeō, -īre, -iī, -itum (v.t.): to go under, come up to.
subiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to suggest, supply, subject.
subitus, -a, -um: sudden; **subitō (adv.):** suddenly.
subsidiārius, -a, -um: reserve.
subsidium, -iī (n.): reserve, reinforcements.
substituō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (v.t.): to substitute.
subsum, -esse (v.i.): to be under, near.
subtrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to withdraw.
subveniō, -īre, -vēnī, -ventum (v.i. with dat.): to help.
succēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to come up to, take the place of.
successus, -ūs (m.): success.
succurrō, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i. with dat.): to help, occur to.
suffrāgium, -iī (n.): vote.
sum, esse, fui: to be.
summittō, -ere, -misi, -missum (v.t.): to send up.
summoveō, -ēre, -mōvī, -mōtum (v.t.): to remove.
summus, -a, -um: highest, topmost, most important.

sūmō, -ere, sumpsī, sumptum (v.t.): to take up.
super (prep. with acc.): above, in addition to.
superbus, -a, -um: proud.
supercilium, -iī (n.): eyebrow, ridge.
superior, -ius: higher, earlier, superior.
superō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to conquer, surpass, rise above, survive.
superstitiō, -ōnis (f.): superstition.
superstō, -āre (v.i.): to stand upon.
suppeditō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to supply.
supplémentum, -i (n.): increase, reinforcements.
suppleō, -ēre, -ēvī, -ētum (v.t.): to fill up.
suprā (adv.): above.
suprēmus, -a, -um: last.
suspiciō, -ere, -spexī, -spectrum (v.t.): to suspect.
sustineō, -ēre, -uī, -tentum (v.t.): to withstand, support.
suus, -a, -um: his own, their own.

tabernāculum, -i (n.): tent.
tābēs, -is (f.): corruption.
taceō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.i.): to be silent; **tacitus, -a, -um:** silent, unspoken.
tālis, -e: such.
tam: so, so much; **tam . . .**
quam: so much . . . as.
tamen: but.
tamquam, as if.
tantus, -a, -um: so much, so great; **tantum (adv.):** only.
tectum, -i (n.): roof, house.
tegō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to cover, conceal.

tēlum, -ī (n.): missile, spear.
temerē: rashly; accidentally, thoughtlessly, without good reason.
temperō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to control; (*v.i.* with *dat.*): to refrain from.
templum, -ī (n.): temple.
temptō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to test, try.
tempus, -oris (n.): time; **in tempore:** at the right time.
tendō, -ere, tetendi, tentum (v.t.): to spread out.
teneō, -ēre, -uī, -ntum (v.t.): to hold.
tentōrium, -ī (n.): tent.
tenus (prep. with abl.): as far as.
tergeō, -ēre, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to clean.
tergum, -ī (n.): back; **terga do:** to turn one's back; **a tergo:** in the rear.
ternī, -ae, -a: three each.
terō, -ere, trivī, tritum (v.t.): to rub; **tempus tero:** to spend time.
terra, -ae (f.): land.
terreō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.t.): to frighten.
terribilis, -e: frightening.
terror, -oris (m.): panic.
tertius, -a, -um: third.
testis, -is (m.): witness.
texō, -ere, texuī, textum (v.t.): to weave, make.
timeō, -ēre, -uī (v.t. and i.): to fear, be afraid.
tirō, -ōnis (m.): recruit.
titulus, -ī (m.): inscription.
toga, -ae (f.): toga.
tollō, -ere, sustulī, sublātum (v.t.): to raise.
tormentum, -ī (n.): catapult.
tot: so many; **tot . . . quot:** as many . . . as.

totidem (indecl.): just as many, the same number.
totiens (adv.): so often.
tōtus, -a, -um: whole.
tradō, -ere, -didi, -ditum (v.t.): to hand over, report.
tradūcō, -ere, -duxi, -ductum (v.t.): to lead across, transfer.
trahō, -ere, traxī, tractum (v.t.): to drag.
trāiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to take across, cross.
tranquillō (adv.): in calm weather.
transcendō, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.t.): to climb over.
transeō, -īre, -iī, -itum (v.t. and i.): to cross over.
transferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum (v.t.): to carry over, remove.
transfugiō, -ere, -fūgī (v.t.): to desert.
transgredior, -ī, -gressus sum (v.t. and i.): to cross over.
transitiō, -ōnis (f.): desertion.
transitus, -ūs (m.): crossing.
transportō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to take across.
transvehō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to carry across.
transversus, -a, -um: crosswise, on the flank.
trecēnī, -ae, -a: 300 each.
trecentī, -ae, -a: 300.
trepidātiō, -ōnis (f.): panic.
trepidus, -a, -um: frightened.
trēs, tria: three.
triārii, -orum (m.): men of the rear rank. (See Introduction II.)
tribūnus, -ī (m.): junior officer of a legion. (See Introduction II.)
tricensimus, -a, -um: thirtieth.
trigintā: thirty.
tristis, -e: sad, gloomy.

triticum, -i (n.): wheat.
triumphō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to hold a triumph.
triumphum, -i (n.): triumph.
tuba, -ae (f.): trumpet.
tueri, -eri, tutus sum (v.i.): to protect.
tunc: then.
tumultuārius, -a, -um: hastily raised.
tumultuosus, -a, -um: confused.
tumultus, -us (m.): confusion, uproar.
turdus, -i (m.): hill.
tunc: then.
turma, -ae (f.): squadron.
turba, -ae (f.): crowd, mass.
turbō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to throw into confusion.
tutor, -ari, -atus sum (v.i.): to guard.
tuus, -a, -um: his.
tuum, -a, -um: your.

uber, -eris: rich, fertile.
ubi: where, when.
ubique: everywhere.
ullus, -a, -um: any.
ulterior, -ius: further.
ultrā (adv.): farther, beyond.
umbilicus, -i (m.): the navel, waist.
umbō, -ōnis (m.): boss.
unde: from where.
undecim: eleven.
undique: from all sides.
universus, -a, -um: all together, whole.
unus, -a, -um: one; ad unum: with one accord.
urbs, -is (f.): city.
urges, -ere, urā (v.i.): to press upon, urge.
usque ad or **in** (with acc.): right up to, into.

usus, -us (m.): use, experience.
ut, **ut** (with subj.): in order that, so that; (with indic.) as, how, when.
ut **qui** (with subj.): seeing that.
uter, **utra**, **utrum**: which of two?
utroque, **utraque**, **utrumque**: each of two, both.
utor, -i, usus sum (v.i. with abl.): to use.
utrumque: from both sides.
utrum . . . **an**: whether . . . or.

vacuus, -a, -um: empty.
vadum, -i (n.): shallow, ford.
vagus, -a, -um: wandering.
valeō, -ēre, -ui, -itum (v.i.): to be strong, well, important.
validus, -a, -um: strong.
vallis, -is (f.): valley.
vallum, -i (n.): rampart.
varius, -a, -um: differing.
vas, **vasis** (pl.), **vasa**, -ōrum (n.): bowl, dish.
vates, -is (m.): prophet.
-ve: or.
vehemens, -entis: fierce, strong; vehementer (adv.): vigorously.
velites, -um (m.): skirmishers (see Introduction II).
velocitas, -itatis (f.): quickness.
velum, -i (n.): sail; **vela** **de**: to set sail.
velut: as if.
venia, -ae (f.): pardon.
veniō, -ire, vēni, ventum (v.i.): to come.
ventus, -i (m.): wind.
verbum, -i (n.): word, talk.
verecundia, -ae (f.): modesty, respect.
verō: but.
verto, -ere, -tī, -sum (v.i.): to turn.
verum, -i (n.): truth.

vērus, -a, -um: true.
vesper, -eris or erī (m.): evening;
vesperi: in the evening.
vester, -tra, -trum: your.
vestigium, -iī (n.): footprint,
 trace.
veterānus, -i (m.): veteran.
vetō, -āre, -uī, -itum (v.t.): to
 forbid.
vetus, -eris: old.
via, -ae (f.): road.
vicārius, -a, -um: substitute.
vicem, vicis (f.): change; **in**
vicem: in turn.
victor, -ōris (m.): conqueror.
victōria, -ae (f.): victory.
videō, -ēre, vidī, vīsum (v.t.):
 to see; (*pass.*) to seem.
vigil, -ilis (m.): sentry.
vigilia, -ae (f.): wakefulness,
 watch, sentries.
vīgintī: twenty.
vincō, -ere, vīcī, victum (v.t.):
 to conquer.
vīnum: -ī (n.): wine.
violenter (adv.): impetuously,
 violently.
violō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (vt.): to
 violate, harm.

vir, virī (m.): man.
virilis, -e: manly, male.
virtūs, -ūtis (f.): courage;
 virtue, ability.
vīs, vim, vī (pl.), vīres (f.):
 force, strength, amount.
vīta, -ae (f.): life.
vitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to
 avoid.
vix, vixdum: scarcely.
vocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
 to call.
volgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
 to make public.
volnerō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
 to wound.
volnus, -eris (n.): wound.
volō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to
 fly, to move swiftly.
volō, velle, voluī (v.t. and i.): to
 wish, be willing, want.
voltus, -ūs (m.): face, expres-
 sion.
volucris, -is (f.): bird.
voluntārius, -a, -um: volunteer.
voluntās, -ātis (f.): will, in-
 clination.
vōs: you.
vox, vōcis (f.): voice, sound.



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